DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-02-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No. Bufile 105-185245
NYfile 105-98991

New York, New York
March 19, 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted] b6 b7C

All sources mentioned in this memorandum have furnished reliable information in the past.

The February 12, 1969, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of the Students for A Democratic Society (SDS), announced that SDS would sponsor a speaking trip in February or March by [redacted], and that chapters interested should contact the National Office. b6 b7C

A characterization of SDS is attached hereto.

On March 4, 1969, the subject advised an official of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), San Francisco, California, that he expected to be in New York City on March 11, 1969, and his contact in New York would be [redacted]. b6 b7C

On December 19, 1968, NY T-1 advised that [redacted] is the [redacted] and [redacted]. b6 b7C b7D

On November 25, 1968, NY T-1 advised Newsreel's objectives are to speak directly to the "revolution" and to make and distribute films in the vanguard of the propaganda

Retain Classification
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 4/4/73 JC

[redacted] CE
[redacted] CE

Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-163303-191

[redacted] b6 b7C

assault on the United States.

On March 10, 1969, NY T-2 and NY T-3 advised [redacted] was scheduled to speak in Room 201, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City, at 7:30 p.m. on March 12, 1969, and at Finley Hall, City College of New York (CCNY), New York City, at 4:00 p.m., March 13, 1969. One dollar admission was to be charged for a Legal Defense Fund (not further identified). b6 b7C

The March 12, 1969, issue of the "Columbia Daily Spectator," a student newspaper at Columbia University, contained an announcement that SDS would present [redacted] as a speaker at 7:30 p.m. on that date at 201 Fayerweather Hall, speaking on "the extra-parliamentary movement and repression in Germany." The announcement stated there would be $1.00 admission for a legal defense fund. b6 b7C

On March 13, 1969, NY T-3 advised the subject appeared at Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, at 7:30 p.m. on March 12, 1969, and spoke about one and one half hours, answering questions for an hour. Admission was $1.00 and about 100 people attended. This admission charge was to be given to the "Bail Fund" of German SDS. German posters were sold at $3.00 each and from $40 to $60 was collected on posters. $19.00 was collected by passing around the hat. The source stated the subject opened remarks by jokingly commenting that he had received

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] stated the students in the United States are not working together as they are in Germany and the time has passed of just sitting and discussing matters and that they should act. The meeting was over at 10:30 p.m.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted] b6 b7C

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached hereto.

The March 7, 1969, issue of the "Observation Post," a student newspaper of CCNY, contained an announcement which stated as follows:

"[redacted] b6 b7C SDS, a socialist student's organization, will speak at the College next week on 'Extra-Parliamentary Working Class and Student Movements in West Germany and the Repression They Are Facing.' The lecture, a benefit for the German SDS legal defense, is to be held in the Finley Grand Ballroom at 4 PM Thursday."

On March 11, 1969, NY T-4 advised that an SDS member made reservations for the Grand Ballroom, Finley Hall, CCNY, from 4:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m., on March 13, 1969, for a "Revolutionary Socialist Caucus."

On March 13, 1969, NY T-5 advised that a meeting sponsored by SDS and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) was held on that date at the Grand Ballroom, Finley Student Center, CCNY. At about 5:15 p.m., [redacted], identified as [redacted] took over the program and spoke for twenty minutes on the SDS and the New Left Movement in Germany. She specifically spoke on how German students are united. She spoke out on the need for funds to pay legal fees for those students who have been arrested in Germany. [redacted] spoke until 5:35 p.m., when [redacted] took over the program. [redacted] spoke out in generalities concerning his [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] spoke until 5:45 p.m., when the meeting ended. Those

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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[redacted] b6 b7C

in attendance were requested to donate one dollar to the German SDS Legal Fund. About $60.00 was donated. No posters were sold at the meeting. [redacted] indicated he would honor all [redacted]. b6 b7C

A characterization of YAWF is attached hereto.

On March 12, 1969, NY T-6 advised the Caseworkers for a Democratic Society of the New York Movement for a Democratic Society (MDS), the off-campus, non-student wing of SDS, held a general meeting on March 11, 1969, at New York University (NYU) SDS Loft, 10 West 4th Street, New York City. At this meeting, a flyer was passed out stating that [redacted] would speak at 8:00 p.m., Friday, March 14, 1969, at the NYU-SDS Loft, 10 West 4th Street, New York, New York. b6 b7C

On the evening of March 14, 1969, [redacted] advised he [redacted] b6 b7C

On March 14, 1969, NY T-7 advised [redacted] spoke at a meeting sponsored by SDS which was held on that date from 8:30 p.m. to 10:15 p.m., at the NYU-SDS Loft, 10 West 4th Street, New York City. About 100 people were in attendance. [redacted] opened the meeting by reading [redacted]. He talked about German SDS, stating he would not tell SDS in this country what to do but hoped they would gain from the experience of similar groups. He announced that he had [redacted] and appeared to be annoyed with this. He announced he would speak at Georgetown University, Sunday, March 16, 1969, (no time indicated). b6 b7C

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted]

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On March 14, 1969, NY T-8 advised he attended the above meeting. This source stated [redacted] was very much a [redacted] and was not [redacted] stated the German SDS tries to encourage West German people to rebel. For example, he stated that last spring they were able to get 150,000 Germans to demonstrate against a West German publisher. No collection was made, but everyone was asked to throw money in a white bucket as they left. It was estimated that about $15.00 in change was thrown in this bucket.

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On March 17, 1969, [redacted], advised that on this date, [redacted]

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b7C

On March 17, 1969, [redacted] mentioned above, advised the subject [redacted]

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b7C

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished locally to INS, United States Secret Service, 108th Military Intelligence Group, Naval Investigative Service Office, Second OSI District, United States Air Force, and United States Attorney, Southern District of New York.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3/19/69

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-185245)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-98991)(RUC)

SUBJECT: [redacted]
SM-ANA
(NEW LEFT-FOREIGN INFLUENCE-WEST GERMANY)

Re Bureau teletype, dated 2/28/69; NY teletypes dated 3/11/69, 3/12/69, 3/13/69, 3/14/69, 3/15/69, 3/17/69, and 3/18/69; and San Francisco teletype dated 3/4/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of an LHM concerning the activities of the subject in the NYC area.

One copy of LHM is being furnished US Secret Service, NISO, OSI, INS, USA, SDNY, and four copies to 108th MI Group, all NYC.

Sources utilized in LHM are:

NY T-1
NY T-2
NY T-3
NY T-4
NY T-5

[redacted]

3-Bureau (Encls.12)(AMSD)(RM)
1-New York (100-148047)(SDS)(42)
1-New York (100-162668)(Newsreel)(42)
1-New York (100-165020)(WLM-International Relations)(42)
1-New York (100-163303)(COINTELPRO-New Left)(42)
1-New York

WHB:awc
(9)

1-Supervisor #42

100-163303-192

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED OK FILED OK

[redacted]

NY T-6
NY T-7
NY T-8

b7D

The LHM was classified "Confidential" because of information contained therein from the above sources, which if disclosed could result in the identification of these informants of continuing value and thus impair their future effectiveness. Such impairment could have an adverse effect on the national defense interests of the country.

The name of will be indexed in LHM in captioned case file.

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Efforts Made Under COINTELPRO-New Left

On 3/3/69,

advised SA that when subject gets ready to leave the country, he would have to go to Alien Control, INS. From there he would be sent to the Alien Tax Section of INS, 120 Church Street, NYC, to file income tax to receive a sailing permit. He stated, however, that this rule was not strictly enforced.

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On 3/13/69, advised he had determined through liaison with INS that alien tax was not within the province of INS, and that the airlines is not supposed to book the subject unless he has a sailing permit.

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b7C

On 3/13/69,

both NYC, advised they could locate no reservations made by the subject for Montreal, Canada, through March 19, 1969.

b6
b7C

On 3/14/69,

JFK International Airport, NYC, advised that no passport was needed to leave NYC for Montreal and there would be no manifest as such. Therefore, it would be impossible to have subject sent to Alien Tax Section of INS.

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It is noted that the subject never appeared at INS, NYC.

In view of the above investigation, no tax clearance could be made on subject prior to his departure from the US.

On 3/18/69, [redacted] telephonically advised the [redacted] at 8:00 p.m. on [redacted] called from [redacted] and booked reservations for [redacted] from [redacted] which departed at 10:00 a.m. on [redacted] NYC. The same reservation was also made for one (FNU) [redacted]

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b7C

Cover Sheet for Informant Report or Material
FD-336 (3-21-58)

TO:: SAC, NEW YORK (100-162668)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-61028)
RE: THE NEWSREEL
IS - MISC

Date received	Received from (name or symbol number)	Received by
12/27/68	[redacted]	JOSEPH F. SMITH b7D

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☐ in person ☒ by telephone ☐ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☐ written by Informant

b6
b7C

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Dictated 12/27/68 (Date) to [redacted]

Transcribed 1/2/69

Authenticated by Informant [illegible]

Date of Report 12/27/68

Date(s) of activity 12/27/68

Brief description of activity or material

Gen. Newsreel meeting re [redacted]

trip to New York Newsreel.

b6
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b7D

File where original is located if not attached [redacted]

Remarks:

Index all names of Newsreel and add to next title in report. b6
Identity [redacted] b7C

(4) - New York
(1 - 100- [redacted]
(1 - 100- COINTELPRO NEW LEFT)
3 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-61886) [redacted]
(1 - 100-)
(1 - 100-61028 (SF NEWSREEL)
JFS:rvn
(7)

b6
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CAUTION!
IF MATERIAL IS DISSEMINATED,
USE CARE IN PARAPHRASING

Block Stamp

100-163303-201

SEARCHED [illegible] INDEXED [illegible]
SERIALIZED [illegible] FILED [illegible]
JAN 13 1969
FBI — NEW YORK

SEARCHED [illegible] INDEXED [illegible]
SERIALIZED [illegible] FILED [illegible]
JAN 13 1969
FBI — SAN FRANCISCO

December 27, 1968
San Francisco, California

[redacted] have just returned from visiting with the New York Newsreel. [redacted] reports that the New York Newsreel has been going under several names other than the New York Newsreel; Camera News, Inc., and the Blue Van. One of the names if reported to be Cultural Films, Inc., (or a similar name). [redacted] of the New York Newsreel has been responsible for obtaining a tax exempt non-profit status for one of the Newsreel cover names. This name has not been announced to the general Newsreel membership, but soon will be announced since [redacted] will arrange for all of the Newsreels to be a branch of the New York Newsreel.

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[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-180265) 3/26/69

SAC, NEW YORK (100-162668) (P)

[redacted]
IS - [redacted]

ReBulet 3/25/69.

On 3/26/69, [redacted] who is currently advised [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

Arrangements have been made with [redacted] to copy the above film during a 24 hour period from 3/31/69 to the morning of 4/1/69. [redacted] has estimated the cost of reproducing a film of this length at about $170.00. It is noted that "The Columbia Revolt" runs 50 minutes. b6 b7C

[redacted] has been of assistance to this Bureau in the past on matters of a confidential nature and stated he will maintain this matter in complete confidence. b6 b7C

[redacted] authority is requested to authorize up to $200.00 to cover costs set forth above. [redacted] will obtain film on [redacted] and proceed with its reproduction.

1 Xerox to SF 3/27/69 BMC

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - [redacted] (Adm.)
(1) - NY 100-163303 (COINTELPRO) (42)
1 - NY

DP:kbg
(5)

100-163303-202

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED [redacted]
MAR 26 1969
[redacted]

b6 b7C b7D

42

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-180265) 4/1/69

SAC, NEW YORK (100-162668)(P)

THE NEWSREEL
IS-MISCELLANEOUS

ReBulet, 3/25/69 and NYlet, 3/26/69.

Enclosed herewith is one copy of the film "Columbia Revolt" consisting of 1850 feet of film on one reel. This package has been marked, "Obscene", in view of the contents. An extra copy of this letter is being transmitted inside the package containing the film for the Bureau.

One copy is being furnished to San Francisco for information purposes.

[redacted] furnished a copy of the film, "The Columbia Revolt" and delivered same to SA [redacted] of the NYO. This film was secured by [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

On 3/31/69, this film was reproduced through arrangements made with [redacted] at a cost of 8 cents per foot for a total of $150. b6 b7C

On [redacted] the original film was returned to [redacted] by SA [redacted] who also [redacted] b6 b7C b7D It is noted that while the film rents at the rate of $60.00 per showing, the Newsreel has received varying amounts depending on the type of audience. In this case, [redacted]

b6 b7C b7D

3 - Bureau (Enc. 1)(RM)
1 - San Francisco (Info)(RM)
1 - New York [redacted]
(1) - New York 100-163303 (COINTELPRO)(42)
1 - New York

RPM:vby
(7)

100-163303-203

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____

[redacted]

42

audience would probably be unable to pay more than $25.00.

For the information of the Bureau, [redacted] has been of assistance to this Bure u in the past on matters of a confidential nature and has stated he will maintain this matter in complete confidence. b6 b7C

Investigation re the Newsreel is continuing.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 4/7/69

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES

SUBJECT: REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU)
IS-RU
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)
OO: San Francisco
Bufile 105-184369
LA file 100-72077)(P)

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)
IS-PLP
OO: New York
Bufile 100-437041
LA file 100-63077 (P)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT
Bufile 100-449689
LA file 100-71737 (P)

b6
b7C

Re San Francisco airtel dated 3/26/69captioned, "REVOLUTIONARY UNION, IS-RU," and "PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY, IS-PLP."

Information copies of this communication are being furnished the Chicago and Seattle Offices in view of their interest in this matter.

6 - Bureau (RM)
(2 - 105-184369) (RU)
(2 - 105-437041)(PLP)
(2 - 100-449689)(COINTELPRO)
1 - Chicago (RM) (Info)
2 - New York (RM)
1 - Seattle (RM) (Info)
2 - San Francisco (RM)
3 - Los Angeles (1 - 100-72077)(RU)
(1 - 100-63077)(PLP) (1 - 100-60968)(COINTELPRO)

b6
b7C

100-163803-206

FCK/gja
(15)

SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
APR 9 1969

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M

Special Agent in Charge

LA 100-72077

Referenced San Francisco airtel requests comments concerning informants making available to [redacted] documents pertaining to a proposed RU attack on PLP. b6 b7C

The Los Angeles Office has no informants available who could logically be in a position to obtain the documents and forward them to [redacted]. b6 b7C

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-02-2012

THE MID-HUDSON INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION
35 MARKET STREET o POUGHKEEPSIE, NEW YORK o 914-452-9020

March 20, 1969

b6
b7C

MEMO TO MEMBERS

FROM: [redacted]

The attached memo describes documents originated by the militant left-wing Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), copies of which have been obtained by your Association from a highly reliable source within the past few days. As you will see, SDS this year plans to use the traditional summer hiring of young people to invade industrial plants, offices, banks, stores, etc. for the purpose of disrupting operations and conducting propaganda campaigns among employees.

I believe the memo deserves your close attention.

The documents we have were prepared by and for the "New York Regional SDS Work-In", involving SDS chapters on campuses in Greater New York and in New Jersey. Some of these students may well fan out into our area for summer employment.

More important, however, is the fact that there are numerous SDS activists on Mid-Hudson campuses --- e.g., New Paltz State College and Vassar. They too are probably involved, since it seems clear that the "Work-In" is a national SDS project.

Because SDS is urging students to concentrate on seeking jobs with employers of about 400 or more, I am enclosing full copies of the documents along with the attached memo only to MHIA member companies of that size.

However, I will send full copies of the SDS documents immediately to any other member who asks for them --- and any member company planning to hire young people this summer is strongly urged to ask for them. It cannot safely be assumed that "Work-In" activities in our area will be limited to larger employers.

100-163303-209

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
APR 2 81969
FBI — NEW YORK

THE MID-HUDSON INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION
35 MARKET STREET o POUGHKEEPSIE, NEW YORK o 914-452-9020

MEMO TO MEMBERS

FROM: [redacted]

b6
b7C

SUBJ: THE NEXT STUDENT BATTLEGROUND: YOUR PLANT - - - THE TIME: THIS SUMMER

Using the traditional summer hiring of young people as a vehicle, the militant left-wing Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), responsible for most of the violence and anarchy on the nation's campuses, are planning to invade industrial plants and other business organizations this summer for the purpose of disrupting operations and conducting intense propaganda campaigns among employees.

Two SDS documents, copies of which have been obtained by THE MID-HUDSON INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION through highly reliable channels, lay out the strategy for the "Work-In" --- its purposes, and the means by which they will be accomplished.

I. A POSTER designed to recruit "Work-In" participants explains the project's aims. The poster can be summarized as follows:

> Campus demonstrations against the Viet Nam war and the draft are growing but are having little effect because students are isolated from other Americans. To succeed in disrupting the American "war machine", students must form alliances, especially with workers in industrial plants, stores, banks, offices, etc. The SDS "Work-In" will be a concerted drive to place students in summer jobs in industry and business for the purpose of making direct contact with workers, selling them on "immediate U. S. withdrawal from Viet Nam", fighting "white racism" among them, and explaining to them that "there are students who support their struggles".

The poster lists co-ordinators for the "work-In" on various college campuses in Greater New York-New Jersey area, and gives the address of New York headquarters as 50 East 11 Street, NYC.

II. A "WORK-IN ORGANIZER'S MANUAL", according to its own cover page, is "intended to help Work-In organizers in selecting and getting jobs. It also contains some pointers on approaches to the political issues that we will be raising and encountering at work".

The Manual is divided into 4 major parts:

1.) HOW TO RESEARCH THE JOB SITUATION IN YOUR AREA - SDS refers potential Work-Iners to their local DIRECTORY OF MANUFACTURERS and to the Yellow Pages of the telephone book.

CONFIDENTIAL

2.) WHAT JOBS TO LOOK FOR - SDS puts the emphasis here on unskilled jobs in plants employing 400 or more. In unskilled jobs, the opportunity for contact with large numbers of fellow workers is greater; plants of 400 or more are preferred because the audience is greater, workers are more likely to have a sense of organization and lend themselves to mass movements, more hiring for unskilled jobs is likely. White students should attempt to get into plants where the employment is primarily white; Blacks should attempt to work with others of their race.

3.) HOW TO GET A JOB -

(this part is MUST reading for employment managers)

SDS tells a Work-Iner in most cases NOT to admit he's a student; it may prevent his employment. Rather, he should say he's worked since graduating from high school and should have "a place or person who will say you worked there for the past 1-4 years". He should also indicate that the imaginary previous job involved heavy manual labor, showing he's not afraid to work.

This section gives the SDS job applicant many more suggestions on getting by the employment office than can be detailed in this memo --- e.g., how to deal with draft status problems, aptitude tests, physical defects, loyalty oaths, dress and behavior during the personnel interview.

4.) WHAT TO EXPECT ON THE JOB - SDS provides its members with a real primer on political agitation in this section. A few examples:

--- Don't be shocked by the racist remarks of white workers, by pro-war talk, etc; if the workers understood racism, the war, the capitalist class, middle class morality, we'd be on the way "home" already.

--- You're there with a purpose --- to bring out the relationship of Viet Nam and the other imperialist wars to their (the workers') immediate demands, the fact that they and their sons die in the war, that it is a war for the rich --- the CLASS perspective.

--- The boss is threatening the workers' job. They must be told that as long as workers are divided by race, craft, union, sex, it's easier for the boss to sit on them.

--- Pick out a few workers who might be more advanced than the rest; talk with them about students offering them assistance in any struggles coming up in the future, on picket lines, demonstrations, etc.

We need not belabor for readers of this memo the importance of taking every precaution to keep SDS agitators out of their employ. But the following point should be made:

Employees in industry and business are, almost unanimously, loyal Americans who will quickly recognize the real source of the SDS propaganda line and will strongly resent being approached by it. If they are approached by it while at work, the result, at best, will be a loss of respect for the employer --- whose personnel processes allowed it to happen. At worst, the ramifications may lead to violence in and around the plant of a kind quite familiar to Columbia University and San Francisco State College.

CONFIDENTIAL

Cover Sheet for Informant Report or Material
FD-302 (Rev. 3-13-68)

Date prepared: 5/13/69

Date received	Received from (name or symbol number)	Received by
4/24/69	[redacted]	SA JOHN W. MINOGUE b7D

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

[X] in person [ ] by telephone [ ] by mail [X] orally [ ] recording device [ ] written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Dictated 4/24/69 By: SA JOHN W. MINOGUE

Transcribed 4/24/69

Authenticated by Informant 4/24/69

Date of Report: 4/24/69

Date(s) of activity: 4/23/69

Brief description of activity or material

Meeting of SDS Labor Committee on 4/23/69.

File where original is located if not attached b7D [redacted]

* INDIVIDUALS DESIGNATED BY AN ASTERISK (*) ONLY ATTENDED A MEETING AND DID NOT ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE. VIOLENCE OR REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES WERE NOT DISCUSSED.

1 - [redacted] (INV) (CI)
1 - 100-148047 (SDS) (42)
1 - 100-163465 [redacted] (42)
1 - 100-163303 (CI) (42)
1 - 100-155664 [redacted] (44)
1 - 100-164610 [redacted] (42)
1 - 100- [redacted]
1 - 100-161196 [redacted] (42)
1 - 100-164091 [redacted] (42)
1 - 157- [redacted]
1 - 100- [redacted]
1 - 100-165744 (SDS LC) (42)

b6 b7C b7D

100-163303-211

JWM:al
(12)

Block Stamp

MAY 13 1969 NEW YORK [redacted]

4/24/69

The SDS Labor Committee held a meeting at its headquarters, 277 W. 38th St., NYC. [redacted] ran the meeting. [redacted] saidhe was disgusted with the situation at all the colleges. He said that the black and Puerto Ricans students were just out to help themselves, and that there were other things they should ask for, that are more important to the movement but the blacks and Puerto Ricans don't care about the movement; only themselves. The meeting was held on 4/23/69. b6 b7C

[redacted] said that the Labor Committee was going to concentrate on the Garment Center and High Schools and forget about the colleges. He stated that the Labor Committee might run someone for City Councilman, but this is not definite. b6 b7C

[redacted] stated that [redacted] told him that he was now employed as a teacher. b6 b7C

The rest of the meeting concerned itself with the next issue of "Solidarity."

Those present were:

[redacted] and an individual supposedly from the Black Panther Party, [redacted] b6 b7C

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-163303) DATE: 5/27/69

FROM : SA [redacted] b6 b7C

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated 2/14/69, which authorized the anonymous mailing of a leaflet entitled " The Gigantic 'Pick The Fag Contest' is Here".

Above mailing was delayed by other Bureau authorized mailings during March and April, 1969 which were prepared and sent out by the NYO.

Starting on 5/15/69 to date, 255 "Fag Contest" leaflets been sent out. The NYO is now in the precess of mailing in "replies" to the contest to Post Office Box 220, Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY (10011), the mailing address of CO-AIM. It is anticipated that approximately 35 "replies" will be mailed to CO-AIM during the next ten days.

No tangible results have been received to date.

Chief Clerk
5/27/69

100-163303-212

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
MAY 28 1969
FBI — NEW YORK

5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-452134) DATE: 6/9/69

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-164469) (P) b6 b7C

SUBJECT: [redacted]
SM - SDS
(00: Tampa)

ReBulet to NY, 5/9/69.

Enclosed herewith are two copies of a suggested letter to be sent to subject's father anonymously. It is designed to embarrass the subject and/or cause subject's parents to take remedial action.

If authorized by the Bureau, this letter will be forwarded to the Tampa Division for appropriate mailing.

Approximately two weeks after mailing, an anonymous copy of the SDS Montage, previously authorized by the Bureau under the CoIntelBro-New Left Program (Bufile 100-449698; NY 100-163303), will also be sent to subject's father.

It is noted that on 6/9/69, SA [redacted] b6 b7C utilizing a [redacted], contacted subject's father [redacted] at his residence telephone [redacted] b7E at which time he confirmed his continued employment as [redacted]. The elder [redacted] further stated subject continues in his capacity as [redacted], and is not expected home for the summer.

2 - Bureau (Encl. 2) (RM)
1 - New York (100-163303) (#42)
1 - New York (100-164469) (#47)

b6 b7C

WRC:mg
(4)

100-163303-
SEARCHED ..... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ..... FILED
2/15

[redacted]

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-106

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Dear [redacted]:

I felt I simply had to write you on a matter that has deeply troubled me for months.

My daughter attended New College at Sarasota where for six months or so she became active in the fight for Negro rights. Her idealistic involvement in these things led to her participation in demonstrations against the dirty war in Vietnam and other "causes" of the young liberal.

I knew from her letters that my daugher was friendly with your son, [redacted] who was described by her as the leading campus radical. I later learned your son was recruiting young people into the Students For a Democratic Society, and something called the SSOC. He was directly responsible for my daughter's subsequent association with a "hippy" group of SDS members who were completely maladjusted to life in every respect. [redacted] your son preaches a program of anarchy, revolution and riot.

b6
b7C

I'm sure you must know a little of your son's activities. I'm also sure something drastic is wrong with any so-called movement which resorts to the gutter in its search for means of expression. If you permit [redacted] to continue his pathetic association with SDS and the like, he will surely end where my daughter is now--under psychiatric care.

b6
b7C

Forgive me for writing under the silence of anonymity.....It was something I had to do for my own peace of mind.

Very truly yours,

[redacted]

b6
b7C

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, TAMPA (100-1272) DATE: 6/20/69

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-164469) (RUC)

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: [redacted]

SM - SDS
(00: Tampa)

ReBulet to New York, 6/13/69, with cc's to Tampa.

Pursuant to instructions set forth in ReBulet, enclosed find two envelopes which are to be mailed anonymously from the Tampa area.

The smaller of the two envelopes containing the "Grandma Moses" stamp contains the anonymous letter mentioned in relet, and should be mailed first.

Approximately two weeks after mailing that letter, it is requested the larger envelope, containing the Franklin Roosevelt stamp be mailed. It contains the approved SDS Montage.

2 - Tampa (Encl. 2) (RM)
1 - New York (100-163303) (#42)
1 - New York (100-164469) (#47)

WRC:mg
(4)

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
JUN 20 1969

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

100-163303-219

Dear [redacted]

b6
b7C

I felt I simply had to write you on a matter that has deeply troubled me for months.

My daughter attended New College at Sarasota where for six months or so she became active in the fight for Negro rights. Her idealistic involvement in these things led to her participation in demonstrations against the dirty war in Vietnam and other "causes" of the young liberal.

I knew from her letters that my daughter was friendly with your son, [redacted] who was described by her as the leading campus radical. I later learned your son was recruiting young people into the Students For a Democratic Society; and something called SSOC. He was directly responsible for my daughters subsequent association with a "hippy" group of SDS members who were completely maladjusted to life in every respect.

b6
b7C

[redacted], your son preaches a program of anarchy, revolution and riot.

I'm sure you must know a little of your son's activities. I'm also sure something drastic is wrong with any so-called movement which resorts to the gutter in its search for means of expression. If you permit [redacted] to continue his pathetic association with SDS and the like, he will surely end in the

b6
b7C

daughter is now — under psychiatric care!

Forgive me for writing under the silence of anonymity — it was something I had to do for my own peace of mind.

Very truly yours,

[redacted]

b6
b7C

NATIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK

DATE: 6/25/69

FROM : SAC, BUFFALO (100-19652) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO
NEW LEFT

Re Albany letter to Buffalo, 2/28/69.

Buffalo Division has been attempting to determine the source of funds being utilized by [redacted] who is doing a project at [redacted] at [redacted] with money provided by the National Science Foundation, under project number [redacted] This project is supposedly, "a study of [redacted]." [redacted] has been named as a member of Students for A Democratic Society in Buffalo, New York, and has participated in anti-draft activities. b6 b7C

By referenced letter, Albany advised that highly placed officials at [redacted] do not have information which would assist in determining the source of funds used by [redacted] for this project. Albany advised that [redacted] could probably furnish the name of the appropriate official to be contacted. b6 b7C b7D

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Contact [redacted] in an effort to determine source of funds being utilized in the above project. b6 b7C

2 - New York (RM)
1 - Albany (Info.) (100-18741) (RM)
2 - Buffalo
(1 - 100-18741)
CPA:amw
(5)

[redacted] b6 b7C

5010-108-02

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 6/30/69

SAC, NEW YORK (100-163303) (P)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reference is made to New York letter dated 3/31/69.

1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

By letter dated 6/18/69, Bureau authority was received for New York to prepare an anonymous mailing of of leaflet entitled "SDS", designed to ridicule the Students For A Democratic Society (SDS) and to cause disruption in the New Left in general.

The above mailing is in preparation and will be completed in the near future.

By letter dated 6/24/69, Bureau authority was received for New York to prepare an anonymous mailing of a leaflet entitled "Whither Both We Go, Davy, Baby?" designed to ridicule the National Mobilization Committee to End the War In Vietnam (MMC) and its leader, DAVID DELLINGER. It is also designed to cause disruption at a planned meeting of various peace groups scheduled for the July 4th week-end in Cleveland, Ohio.

The above mailing has been prepared and will be completed during the week of 6/30/69 - 7/4/69. This mailing will be directed to approximately 200 individuals and organizations active in the New Left movement.

New York is preparing a leaflet entitled " SDS - The Amerikan Komiks", which will be submitted to the Bureau for approval.

New York will continue to direct counterintelligence action against the SDS and other New Left organizations through the use of the montage leaflet authorized by the Bureau on 8/29/68.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York

BPM:bpm
(3)

Chief Clerk
Post "C" MAIL ROOM

42

NY 163303 2nd

NY 100-163303

On 4/1/69, an anonymous leaflet entitled "Notes From The Sand Castle", aimed at causing disruption of a "peace" parade and demonstration held 4/5/69, was mailed to 215 individuals and organizations in the New Left.

During the period 5/1-5/69, an anonymous leaflet entitled "The House Crap Revolution", designed to widen the split between the SDS Columbia University Chapter and the so-called NY SDS Labor Committee, was mailed to 219 individuals and organizations in the New Left.

During the period 5/15-30/69, an anonymous leaflet entitled "The Gigantic 'Pick The Fag Contest' Is Here!", designed to ridicule the entire New Left, DAVE DELLINGER and MARK RUDD, was mailed to 255 individuals and organizations in the New Left movement.

It is noted that the above leaflet urged the reader to send the entry form at the bottom to "Fag Contest, Post Office Box 220, Old Chelsea Station, New York, New York", which is the actual mailing address of CO-AIM, a militant New Left organization.

In early June, 1969, 40 "entries" in the Fag Contest were mailed to the above Post Office Box, each written in a different hand and each bearing the name and address of an individual active in the New Left. DAVE DELLINGER was the "winner" of the contest based on those entries.

By letter dated 6/13/69, Bureau authority was received to mail an anonymous letter to [redacted] b6 b7C
[redacted] New York, and the father of [redacted] (Bufile 100-452134; NYfile 100-164469), an SDS activist at New College, Sarasota, Florida. Bureau authority was also received to follow up the anonymous letter with the SDS montage leaflet two weeks later.

On 6/20/69, the above items were furnished to the Tampa Division for mailing in that territory.

3. Tangible Results

On 6/6/69, [redacted] advised that [redacted] b7D

[redacted] thought the leaflet was humorous but stated the people in the Regional Office viewed it with disgust. The informant could furnish no information as to the origin of the leaflet. b7D

SAC, BUFFALO (100-19652) 7/7/69

SAC, NEW YORK (100-163303)

COUNTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Buffalo letter dated 6/25/69.

Relet sets forth lead for the NYO to contact one [redacted] described as an established source. b6 b7C b7D

For information of Buffalo, the NYO does not have [redacted] as a source of this division. It is pointed out that [redacted] is located at [redacted] It is believed that [redacted] would be at the same address. b6 b7C b7D

No further action re this matter is being taken by the NYO unless it is determined that [redacted] is in fact located in New York City. b6 b7C b7D

2 - Buffalo (RM)
1 - New York

BPM:bpm
(3)

[redacted]

BPM

100-163303-223

Cover Sheet for Informant Report or Material
FD-306 (3-21-58)

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-23-2012

TO: SAC, PORTLAND (100-3952-Sub 14)

FROM: SA [redacted] b6 b7C

SUBJECT: CP, USA, ORGANIZATION
IS - C

Date: 7/25/69

Date received	Received from (name or symbol number)	Received by
7/23/69	[redacted] CONFIDENTIAL	SA [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

☐ in person ☐ by telephone ☒ by mail ☐ orally ☐ recording device ☒ written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:
Date
Dictated _____ to _____
Transcribed _____
Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report
7/20/69

Date(s) of activity
7/20/69

Brief description of activity or material

[redacted] b6 b7C b7D

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks:

EXTREME CAUTION SHOULD BE EXERCISED IN USE OF THIS INFORMATION TO FULLY PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION, BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF SET FORTH IN ANY COMMUNICATION FOR DISSEMINATION.

100-163303-176X

(5) - New York (AM) (RM)
100-80641 (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
100-84994 (GUS HALL)
100-109136 [redacted]
100-127327 [redacted]
100- (COINTELPRO)

6 - Portland
[redacted]
100-3952-Sub 14 (CP, USA, ORGANIZAT
100-9634 (COINTELPRO)
100-7907 (GUS HALL)
100-6791 [redacted]
100-9728 [redacted] CONFIDENTIAL

b6 b7C b7D

100-163303-227

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
AUG 8 1969

[redacted]

LBA:lbt
(11)

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
JUL 25 1969
FBI — PORTLAND

Classified by 5586X 2
Exempt from GDS, Category _____
Date of Declassification Indefinite
Dec 4/5/78

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Did cops aid disruption?

Leaders of New York's Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee charged Aug. 21 that top police officials had actively sabotaged the Aug. 9 Nagasaki Day peace rally "for their own political purposes" and warned that "if that is how they intend to operate, rank and file participants won't feel obligated to play by their rules in the future."

Norma Becker, coordinator of the Parade Committee, charged that police had abetted two disruptions at the march and rally. In the first incident, Mrs. Becker singled out an assistant chief inspector named Kowsky as having actually "led" the breakaway demonstrators who later seized control of the bandshell in Central Park, temporarily disrupting the rally. She said Kowsky threatened to arrest the committee's chief marshal, Al Evanoff and other marshals when they tried to get the breakaway contingent to follow the line of march. In the second incident, members of the American Renaissance Party, a neo-Nazi group and their supporters waded into the rally "in the complete and conspicuous absence of uniformed police who have previously always been assigned to keep counter-demonstrators apart from the main rally," the committee charged.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Guardian

Date: 8/30/69
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

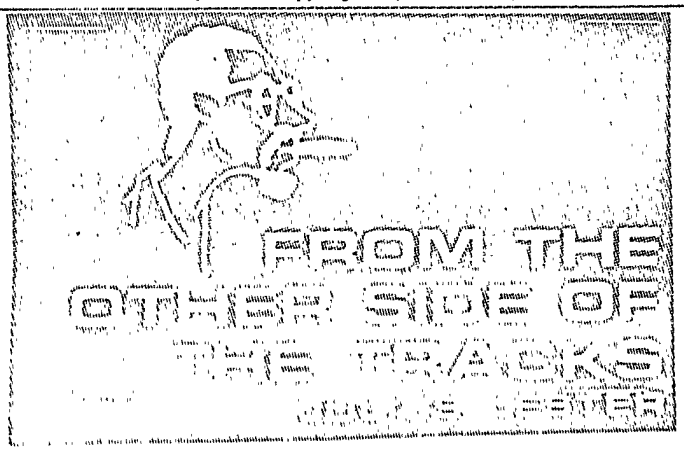
100-163303-228

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
SEP 4 1969

b6
b7C

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)



(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

9 Guardian

Date: August 23

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

100-163303-229

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....

SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

SEP 4 1969

FBI - NEW YORK

b6
b7C

[illegible] the leadership of the Black [illegible] society is refusing to intimidate those [illegible] with them. In the interview [illegible] Seale and David Hilliard printed [illegible] Aug. 9 issue of the BPP newspaper, [illegible] of invective were reached in the [illegible] upon SDS for its refusal to circulate the petition for community control of police in the white community. Indeed, it was an exercise in double-think and double-talk, if one remembers that a few short months ago Kathleen Cleaver was attacking this writer in the Guardian for calling SDS racist for its resolution calling the BPP the vanguard organization. Now, when SDS finds that it cannot blindly support a program of the BPP, the Panther leadership accuses SDS of having "the same case of racism" and continues to say, "... we're sick and tired of these motherfuckers telling us or trying to dictate to us how we should run our struggle, who to align with." And it was for saying essentially this that Kathleen Cleaver attacked this writer. It is enough to make one think that the Panther leadership has studied Orwell's "1984" more thoroughly than the "Quotations from Chairman Mao."

It should be increasingly clear to those who could not see it before that the BPP has a very simple rule of operation: he who agrees with me is my friend; he who disagrees is my enemy. As long as SDS gave unqualified support to the BPP, they were the darlings of the Panthers. As soon as they qualify that support, they are "bourgeois, snooty-nose motherfuckers," "little sissies" and the Panthers are "gonna kick their motherfucking ass." Now it is the Young Patriots whom the Panther leadership finds revolutionary in the white community. What will the YP be if they, at some point, find that for the sake of effectively organizing whites, they must disagree with the Panthers?

As long as the BPP seeks to turn the "movement" into a police state which they control, it is irrelevant whether they are right or wrong on a particular issue. It may be more efficient to run a political movement by dictatorship, but it is not revolutionary by any stretch of the imagination. It is merely substituting a tyranny of Marxist-Leninist rhetoric for the present tyranny of American democratic rhetoric.

Not exemplary

The contempt shown SDS in this instance cannot be said to exemplify the conduct and attitudes one has a right to expect (and demand) from anyone claiming to be revolutionary. To deny an individual's right to disagree is to deny him his right to think for himself; to, in fact, exist separately. And to threaten those who disagree is to make one more akin to the Mafia, not the revolutionary vanguard. The revolutionary not only expects disagreement, he asks for it, because he recognizes that the revolution is not successful unless each individual understands for himself. Of course, Fidel could coerce the people of Cuba to cut more sugar cane. He could march them to the fields at gunpoint and make them cut sugar cane until they dropped. Instead, the government of Cuba knows that if the people understand the importance of sugar cane in the economy of Cuba, then they will volunteer their vacation time to leave home and cut cane. They will be glad to go to the fields because they are

building their nation and as long as they know they are building for themselves, the nation will survive and flourish. If they were forced, if they were made to feel that they were "sissies, punks and cowards" for not doing what the government said, Fidel would be sowing the seeds of destruction, not building a revolutionary society.

A political organization can be 100% in its ideology; but if it fails to embody and communicate a respect for people, particularly those with whom it has disagreements, it will not create a humanistic society. The Black Panther party undoubtedly feels an overwhelming urgency as it fights for its existence. It must feel that the situation is too acute to allow for disagreements and intellectual debates, which can be tedious and irrelevant. However, that is taking a short perspective. If the human values which the revolution is to bring into being are sacrificed at any stage of the struggle, that revolution will not be born, even if the military battles are won.

The Panthers as arbiters

The BPP has set itself up as the arbiter of revolutionary qualifications. Thus, if one has Panther approval, one is revolutionary. If one does not, one is the enemy, more or less. Too many people have acquiesced in this, themselves wanting the approval of the BPP. But, as the SDS episode indicates, the Panthers are capricious gods, who give and take away approval at the slightest whim. Perhaps people will learn from this and stop being sycophants. If the SDS resolution is incorrect, then it is the responsibility of the Panthers to show them where and why they are incorrect, not attack them, threaten them and terrorize them. If this is the way the Black Panther party is going to use the power they presently have in the "movement," then it is to be fervently hoped that they will not be the ones to come to power whenever the revolution comes.

The "movement" can take this attack on SDS in silence or it can let the BPP know that such an attack does not exemplify the revolutionary ideals we are trying to live and bring into existence. If the "movement" allows itself to be cowed and intimidated by anyone, if it refuses to express its disagreements when it has them with anyone, then it cannot succeed as a revolutionary movement.

The Black Panther party may threaten, intimidate and curse all it wants to, but there are a few who will not be silenced, who will not be intimidated, who will not be frightened. We are not the enemy, no matter how much the BPP may say we are and we do not consider the BPP as our enemy. But we are acutely aware that the coercive stifling of disagreement, particularly when there is agreement on fundamentals, means death for the ideals and values in the creation of a humanistic society. Yes, the "movement" needs unity, but that unity must come from what we collectively agree on, not from what the leadership of the Black Panther party decides and to which it then demands our agreement.

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Ft. Dix–1

Allen Myers, New York: Chris Robinson's article on the Ft. Dix rebellion contains factual inaccuracies which would lead someone unfamiliar with the GI antiwar movement to misconceptions about the way that movement has developed and will develop in the future. I refer specifically to the following paragraph:

"Until the rebellion, dissent against the Army and the Vietnam war had been expressed on an individual level. Men were isolated and frustrated, expressing their opposition by messing up their jobs or going AWOL. Late in April, movement people trying to organize opposition opened the Ft. Dix coffeehouse as a place for GIs to meet and started publishing Shakedown, the first voice of protest on base."

I was stationed at Ft. Dix from Oct. 14, 1967, until April 25, 1969, and am personally familiar with the way the movement developed in an organized form prior to the events mentioned in Robinson's article. Late in October, 1968, a number of GIs got together and, using the name "Ft. Dix Free Speech Movement," called for a teach-in to be held in Philadelphia on Dec. 7. Some 25-30 GIs attended. The next day, approximately a dozen of these GIs met, voted to send a representative to the GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference in Chicago on Dec. 28 and decided to begin publishing an antiwar paper, the Ultimate Weapon.

Ft. Dix–2

Bill Brakefield, Ft. Dix, N.J.: The case against the Ft. Dix 38 is unusual. It is supposed to be the case against Terry Klug, Jeffrey Russell, Thomas Catlow, myself and 34 other men whose names you may not be familiar with, but it is a charge of conspiracy in which the government claims that we soldiers have conspired to violate certain laws of the United States and for violating these laws they intend to send us to prison for 46 years. In reality, it is the purpose of the government to destroy the organization the minority of the Ft. Dix 38 belong to. That organization is the American Servicemen's Union.

This case is of great importance to the United States because it can prove to the people of the world that a supposedly free nation, founded on the principles of freedom and justice for all, is, in all actuality, a war-mongering, imperialist nation. A nation where the capitalists have their wars so they can see their goods, their gods, and their guns. This case involves the whole social structure of the nation.

There are three other charges in the indictment which state numerous overt acts supposedly committed in furtherance of the conspiracy: one of those acts is arson, an act of revolution so common when men wish to change the evils of their society.

It would be almost impossible for me to write all that the Ft. Dix 38 have said or done, or even to write of our thoughts.

We do classify ourselves, however, into two classes. Some of the prisoners had no direct connection with any peace groups or organizations, but they have engaged our services for finding out what the American Servicemen's Union is: its function, its purposes, its ultimate goal.

What we want as a union has been said before. We want the rights afforded human beings, and not what being slaves of capitalist exploiters forces us to accept; we don't want yessirring or any more sirring of officers, which is equal to "yes mista bossman" and "nosa mista charlie." We want the exploiters of prejudice and unfair persecution forced to resign if they are officers and court-martialed if they are lifers. We want to be brought before peers and not before kings in our court martial. We want freedom for those of us who wish not to serve the nation in times of unjust wars or in any war the United States wages if we choose not to serve. We want decent wages paid to us for our skills and not for our rank. We want the plague against the Black man removed from the Army forever, especially against the Black Panthers and the Black Muslims.

If we are called unpatriotic because we don't believe in America's wars and killings, so be it. If we are called unpatriotic because we don't believe in the capitalist system, exploiter of the workers, so be it. If we are called unbelievers who could never take the Christian faith seriously as it is practiced in the Army by hypocrites who demand that you "kill for Christ," so be it. But don't ever call me or the 38 men with me slaves, because, brother, that's something we know we'll never be again.

(page, name of r, city and state.)

Guardian

Date: August 16, 1969
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

100-163303-230

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

SEP 4 1969

FBI - NEW YORK

b6
b7C

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Reply on SDS

Mark Naison, New York: Jim Prickett's article ("Another View on SDS," July 26), like most of the literature put out by WSA lately, evades the real issues which lay behind the expulsion of PL. Anti-communism and anti-working class politics may have been the attitude of some people in the new SDS, but they sure as hell weren't its principles of unity. The vast majority of people who voted for expulsion (with their feet as well as their hands) did so for one reason: because PL's indiscriminate attacks on "black nationalism" were making it increasingly difficult for SDS to ally itself with revolutionary black groups.

This fact has been mulled over in many ways by PL spokesmen. A favorite technique (used by Prickett) has been to claim that SDS has "no program to combat racism." But what PL fails to point out is that the black movement is waging a struggle against racism that is more serious and militant than anything the white left is doing and that the key question for SDS is how to relate to that struggle. When PL opposes black studies on the campuses, denounces community control of schools and hospitals and attacks free breakfast programs as reformist and criticizes black caucuses in unions for "dividing the working class," it is setting itself counter to the black community's strongest campaign against institutional racism and white supremacy. This position has earned PL the scorn of the most revolutionary working class groups in the black community; the Black Panther party and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. At a time when the power of the ruling class is descending upon the black movement at an unprecedented rate, it was impossible for us to let a powerful minority faction dilute our support of black liberation.

For many of us, this expulsion has not been a pleasant chore. Not everyone in WSA (or even PL) is a counter-revolutionary and a racist and many of its programs are worthy of support. Few of us could quarrel with campaigns against university expansion, counterinsurgency courses and ROTC, and none of us would oppose the unionization of low-paid university employes.

But with PL's position on the black struggle, there can and will be no compromise. The history of the American left is strewn with the corpses of groups who presumed to tell black people how to fight for their liberation, but whose main contribution was to help the more privileged sectors of the working class get a larger slice of the pie. PL's attack on nationalism at a time when it has become the most important revolutionary ideology in the black community places it squarely within that tradition.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Guardian

Date: August 16, 1969
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

100-167303-231

SEARCHED.....INDEXED..... b6
SERIALIZED.....FILED..... b7C
SEP 4 1969
FBI - NEW YORK

-356 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

YAWF statement

National committee, Youth Against War & Fascism, New York: in the Aug. 16 Guardian, along with an article on the Hiroshima stage. YAWF did not participate in any physical fight up there.

Although we did not participate in what the hostile press calls the "disruption," the incident in no way constitutes grounds for any of the libelous charges levelled at the participants. (An article on the Daily World editorial page by an anonymous "group of DuBois club members" characterizes the participants, including YAWF, as "agents, provocateurs and misguided radicals" and refers to Walter Teague, chairman of the U.S. Committee to Aid the NLF, as a "well-known police agent." The entire matter must be regarded, at worst, as an unfortunate error in judgment, honestly made, which also unfortunately alienated a large part of the audience. In that case only the incident was harmful to struggle.

The opportunists have falsely and cunningly seized upon an unfortunate incident to try and confuse the antiwar movement, to try to dress up their wholly traitorous attack upon the revolutionary youth movement as a justified attack upon alleged "agents" and "provocateurs." That they want to use the false slogan of "disruption" vs. "unity" to cover up the real issue of left vs. right, of revolutionary struggle vs. bourgeois pacifism.

The decimation of the "peace" movement from hundreds of thousands marching in New York City several years ago to a few thousand of this demonstration must be traced to the inability or unwillingness of the leadership to inoculate the antiwar masses against the phoney peace maneuvers of the government. Failure to criticize "doves" McCarthy and Fulbright and blocking with "dove" Lindsay prepared people very well to be taken in by the lies of "dove" Nixon. The only way to build a mass movement that can be depended upon to put up a fight is to base it on independent anti-bourgeois politics.

day demonstration, there appears a picture entitled "Ultras block stage at N.Y. antiwar protest," which shows a Youth Against War & Fascism banner on stage.

We would like to give our point of view on the events of that day which we feel can only be understood in the light of the struggle between the two discernible trends which have existed from the very beginning of the antiwar movement: one, the opportunist, conservative forces led by the CP-SWP-bourgeois liberal coalition, which is basically a pillar of the establishment acting as the loyal opposition; the other, which is new, young and inexperienced, represents the nascent revolutionary yearnings of the masses.

On Aug. 9, hundreds of young demonstrators who were participating in the Peace Parade Committee walk along the sidewalk to Central Park, took to the street about halfway along the line of march. They did it because the lack-luster walk taking place was hardly noticeable to the pedestrians and motorists in the area. The street demonstrators sped up their march, arriving at the bandshell 15 or 20 minutes ahead of the others. A section of the angered militants filled the stage with banners and National Liberation Front flags.

After several other spontaneous speakers took the mike arguing for or against the militants the Parade Committee leaders arrived. For a while the beginning of the official rally was postponed and some of those on stage gave the appearance of wanting to keep an open mike format. With regard to these events the leadership of Youth Against War & Fascism makes the following statement:

YAWF did not participate in any attempt to disrupt the Parade Committee rally. Although two of our banners were on the stage, our banners have traditionally been up front at such mass antiwar rallies. They were inadvertently carried on

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

8 Guardian

Date: August 23

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

100-163303-232

SEARCHED INDEXED b6 b7C

SERIALIZED FILED

SEP 4 1969

FBI NEW YORK

-350 (1. 6-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

SDS, Panthers confer

Several leaders of SDS and the Black Panther party met in Oakland, Calif. Aug. 16 in an effort to iron out differences which have developed between the two organizations.

The Panthers, through statements by chairman Bobby Seale and chief of staff David Hilliard, have launched a broadside attack against the white radical youth group, primarily because of SDS's opposition to the Panther-initiated program for a national campaign demanding community control of police. (See Guardian, Aug. 16 for a full account.)

Representing SDS in the meeting with Seale and Hilliard were national secretary Mark Rudd, national interim committee member Michael Klonsky and members of regional SDS.

In a telephone interview with the Guardian Aug. 17, Rudd said SDS and the Panthers conducted "comradely discussions," and indicated he thought the dispute could be resolved through further discussion.

"During our discussion," Rudd continued, "we came to agreement on the way criticism should be handled between us. We also cleared up a lot of factual misunderstandings."

The SDS spokesman would not elaborate further. He said the organization was in the process of writing a formal reply to the Panthers, which would soon be made public. This document, he said, was held up until the meeting could be arranged.

The reference to "the way criticism should be handled" apparently alluded to the fact that the Panther leaders chose the public print to air their differences with SDS—with a two-page interview in the Berkeley Barb Aug. 4, a reprint of the interview, coupled with a separate statement by Hilliard in the Aug. 9 Black Panther newspaper and in comments made in the Aug. 16 Guardian.

Rudd was critical of the Guardian for its coverage of the dispute, stating that he did not think the dispute was "important enough" to merit the attention the Guardian gave to it.

A comment on the Panther/SDS situation by Julius Lester appears on page 9.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 Guardian

Date: August 23,

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

100-163303-233

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....

SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

SEP 4 1969

FBI - NEW YORK

b6 b7C

Re-processed File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 70, pg 103 (RR)

This can best be done by utilizing the services of friends of the Bureau in the newspaper field by having this information published as a news item in those cities which have representatives of the NMC and of black organizations in their areas.

This action should be followed up by using the services of a newspaper columnist friendly to the Bureau, particularly one who is reported to favor the conservative point of view, and whose column is published in newspapers in major cities. The columnist should comment in his column on the demands of the BUF in indignent and ridiculing terms. The demands of the BUF should be branded as another example of attempted extortion on the part of militant black groups who appear to be attempting to "hold-up" the white community in the manner of [redacted] and his organization, the National Black Economic Development Conference, which has made exhorbitant demands of huge sums from white Christian churches for alleged indignaties to Negroes over the past few hundred years. The column should comment in a ridiculing vein that it is a welcome sight to see militant blacks attempting to "put the bite" on their so-called ultra-liberal friends in an organization such as the NMC.

b6
b7C

In conjunction with the above, sources in racial and non-racial protest groups, should be used to fan discontent resulting from the publicity given this information. Sources in racial groups should at meetings of their organizations agitate against the NMC, to term the demands of the BUF as logical and right and the rejection of the NMC as a "racist" act and another example that the blacks cannot trust their so-called liberal friends in preponderantly white organizations. These sources should speak against the participation of their organizations in the anti-war demonstration of 11/15/69, and against future cooperation with the NMC and like preponderantly white protest organizations. These sources should point out that DAVID DELLINGER and other white leaders, [redacted] in the NMC, although ostensibly favorable to the causes of the militant blacks, have proven to have had racist tendencies when called upon in concrete terms to assist the militant black movement.

NY 100-157178

Enclosed for the Bureau are 15 copies of an LHM concerning RUBIN's finances. Enclosed for Chicago, are five copies of the LHM for dissemination to the USA, Chicago, for possible use in the investigation entitled, "DAVID T. DELLINGER aka ET AL, ARL-CONSPIRACY; OO: CHICAGO."

For the information of the Bureau, all leads set out to various offices in re NY airtel, 5/12/69, have been covered, and pertinent information is included in enclosed LHM. Re Boston letter to NY, 8/25/69 (IO) stated that on 8/12/69, [redacted] Robert Walker Agency, American Program Bureau, 59 Temple Place, Boston, Massachusetts (conceal) advised that agency had no record of any bookings for JERRY RUBIN. b6 b7C b7D

On 9/8/69, [redacted] advised she observed the subject depart 5 St. Marks Place, NYC, at about 3:30 p.m. on 9/6/69, and walk towards 2nd Avenue. b6 b7C b7D

NY airtel to Bureau, 6/13/69, stated NY sources could obtain no information concerning the subject receiving any remuneration for his appearance at the Teach-In on Repression held at New York University on 2/7/69.

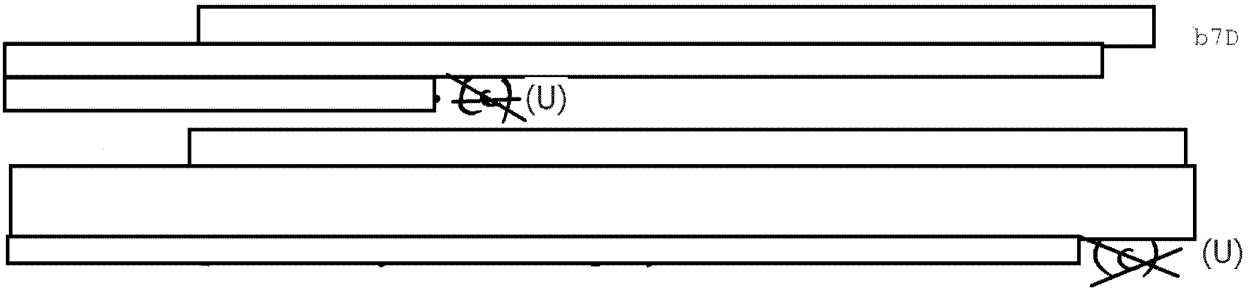
Buffalo letter to Bureau, 6/18/69, stated Buffalo sources were unable to furnish any information concerning remuneration received by the subject for appearing at the State University of New York on 3/1/69.

Cleveland report of SA [redacted] 6/24/69, stated sources were unable to furnish information re financing of RUBIN's trip to Bowling Green State University on 4/19/69. b6 b7C b7D

Cincinnati report of SA E. CLARK MURRISH, 7/14/69, stated subject was not reimbursed for any of his speaking engagements during 4/20 - 23/69, in Cincinnati, but on each occasion at conclusion, made a plea for funds to assist in his legal defense arising out of his Federal indictment in Chicago.

Source	Identity
NY T-5 NY T-6	[redacted] (conceal per request)
NY T-7 NY T-8	[redacted] (conceal per request)
NY T-9 NY T-10	[redacted] (conceal per request)
NY T-11	[redacted] (conceal per request)
NY T-12 NY T-13	[redacted] (conceal per request)
NY T-14	[redacted] (conceal per request)
NY T-15	[redacted] (conceal per request)
NY T-16	[redacted] (conceal per request)
NY T-17	[redacted] (conceal per request)
NY T-18	[redacted] (conceal per request)

b6
b7C
b7D



The informants set forth herein are being instructed to seek opportunities to keep the SDS - BPP dispute "cooking" and to broaden it with other issues when possible. Prime consideration is being given to their security.

The Bureau will be promptly advised of any tangible results from this action.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-02-2012

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York
September 22, 1969

Bufile 105-1317I9
NYfile 100-157178

Jerry Clyde Rubin

Reference is made to memorandum dated September 9, 1969 at New York, New York.

Jerry Rubin

On June 24, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Rubin attended one session of the 18th National Convention, Communist Party, USA as an observer. This convention was held in June, 1966 in New York City.

On September 18, 1969, a second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that [redacted] b7D

[redacted] ~~(C)~~ (U)

Information furnished by the above source is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

b6
b7C

On January 10, 1966, a third source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Nancy Kurshan was a registered name indicating attendance at the National Membership Conference of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which was held on December 27, 1965 to January 2, 1966 at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

[redacted]

A characterization of SDS is attached hereto.

Retain Complaint 4/14/70

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency. It and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-169583-248

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

Re-processed File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, pg 98
(RR)

FBI

Date: 9/22/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-131719)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-157178) (P)

SUBJECT: JERRY CLYDE RUBIN
SM-C (KEY ACTIVIST)
(OO:NEW YORK)

Re New York airtel and LHM to Bureau dated 9/9/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 15 copies of an LHM concerning a deposit made in the Social Education Foundation-Jerry Rubin Fund account.

The sources concealed are as follows:

First Source
Second Source
Third Source

[redacted] b7D

6 - Bureau (Encl.15) (RM)
(1-176-59) (RUBIN)
(1-100-449698) (COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT)
(1-176-1410) (DAVID T. DELLINGER aka ET AL, ARL-CONSPIRACY)
(1-100-446997 SUB 70) (NEW LEFT MOVEMENT-FINANCES)
3 - Chicago (100-43245) (ENCL.5) (RM)
(1-176-39) (RUBIN)
(1-176-5 SUB C) (DAVID T. DELLINGER aka ET AL, ARL, CONSPIRACY)
1 - New York (176-9) (RUBIN)
1 - New York (176-133) (DAVID T. DELLINGER aka ET AL, ARL-CONSPIRACY) (42)
1 - New York (100-163303) (COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT) (42)
1 - New York (100-165006) (FINANCES-NEW LEFT) (42)
1 - New York

WHB:jra
(15)

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SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____

[redacted] b6 b7C

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

100-163303-249

The Collapse of S.D.S.

by Roger Kahn

Can a house divided prevail over militarism, imperialism, liberalism, racism, male chauvinism and bad vibrations?

A few days after the Students for a Democratic Society babbled into civil war last spring, I called the Chicago office where Mark Rudd, the new maximum leader of a muscular minority, was hard at work. Pretty much everybody was on vacation, Rudd told me, in a manner he has perfected: the soft voice pregnant with insolence. Besides, there were no statements ready for the bourgeois press.

"Well, I wanted to talk to you about the future of participatory democracy, Mark."

"I'm sorry," said the soft voice. "No statement."

"Then tell me this. Which is the real S.D.S.?"

Rudd gave the question no pause. "You're talking to him," he said.

That is participatory democracy with a difference, and while Rudd clicked off, it struck me that there probably has not been a people's movement quite like his since Louis XIV announced, in freshman European History, *L'état c'est moi.*

At Chicago during several imperfect days in June, the S.D.S., growing in influence and numbers but not in maturity, committed binary fission. Since their meeting at Michigan State University a year before, times had been heady for the young radicals. National membership grew persistently toward 100,000. Campus after campus—seventeen on a single day last April—was disrupted by people protesting Vietnam, racism or both. Power was coming to students, but as it did, power's handmaiden, factionalism, took hold. The group Rudd captured, the Revolutionary Youth Movement, sees youth as a class, fighting in the vanguard against the abuses of capitalist America. Youth and the blacks are a distinct breed of warrior. The others, putatively led by John Pennington, late of Harvard, grew out of the Maoist Progressive Labor Party. This offshoot, the Worker-Student Alliance, describes blacks as a subgroup in a generally oppressed American proletariat. You have to have lived with the Left for a time to comprehend the fury of these dogmatic struggles.

The Chicago convention attracted fifteen hundred radical delegates, who wanted variously to dominate the S.D.S., to reunite it, to formulate new revolutionary programs or, at the very least, to hit Mayor Daley in the left jowl with a soiled sock. None of these things was accomplished. Instead, with shouting, chanting and finally with a drill that traces to Munich, 1923, the Students for a Democratic Society came apart at the querulous age of nine.

I mean to guide you, as best I can, through the bewildering factions of S.D.S. belief, the valid and contrived sources of S.D.S. conflict and even into the remote future, which by radical clocks begins at eleven o'clock tomorrow morning. We are crossing into a land of red and black, where Mao is very good, Gene McCarthy is very bad, Ho Chi Minh is good and bad and Dick Nixon is indisputably excellent. The radicals reason that with Ol' Integrity in the White House, revolution has moved a decade closer. The radical press sets a suitable tone.

"S.D.S. lives," swears the Rudd faction's newsletter, "but one important thing has changed. The Progressive Labor Party faction has been kicked out. We cannot defeat white-supremacy anti-communism anti-working-class chauvinism with liberalism, allowing these tendencies to exist alongside of our revolutionary struggle, like a parasite draining our lifeblood away. *Power to the People!*"

At its top the newsletter carries a symbolic clenched left fist, etched to the best standards of W.P.A. art. At the bottom, Rudd's signature appears, beside four co-signers, including both of last year's top S.D.S. officers. The newsletter places national S.D.S. headquarters in Chicago.

With another day comes another bulletin. The same clenched fist leads the page, but *New Left Notes* claims the national S.D.S. offices for Boston. The walkout, John Pennington writes, "was unprincipled because it was not rooted in a good political basis. A lot of the appeal was, rather, to anti-communism. . . . Their opportunism manifested itself most grossly in racism. . . . Throughout the years, R.Y.M. leaders have concentrated on two things: infighting for political control and uniting to 'get P.L.'" The prose is rather mild, but *New Left Notes* does not resemble The New York *Times*. Under the logotype, an artist has drawn two men crouching with guns and cartridge belts. The caption reads: "We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war, but war can only be abolished through war and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun."

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SEP 2 9 1969
FBI - NEW YORK

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A Portable Guide to the S.D.S. Factions

	Revolutionary Youth Movement I (R.Y.M. I) also called "The Weatherman"	Progressive Labor Party-Worker-Student Alliance (W.-S.A.)	Revolutionary Youth Movement II (R.Y.M. II)	Labor Committee	Independent Socialist Clubs
Prominent Members	Mark Rudd, Bernardine Dohrn, Jeff Jones John Jacobs	Milt Rosen Progressive Labor Party Chairman, John Pennington, Jeff Gordon, Jared Israel.	Mike Klonsky, Bob Avakian Carl Davidson	Steve Fraser, Tony Papert	Mike Parker Ron Tabor
Origins	Born out of unified student movements at Columbia and Midwest campuses in 1968-9.	Split from Communist Party in 1961 as protest against Khrushchev revisionism.	Formed recently when Maoists of California's Bay Area Revolutionary Union (B A R U) joined with a small number of Chicagoans.	Formed in 1968 during a threatened strike against New York City Transit Authority when students joined with West Village and tenant groups	Descended from old-line anti-Communist Leftist groups
Slogan	Power to the People.	Power to the Workers.	Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh/N.L.F is going to win.	Let's go Mets.	None
Position on Major Issues:					
Vietnam	U S should get out now Vietnamese have been fighting a thirty-year war and should not be criticized.	U S should get out now. Ho Chi Minh is selling out by talking at Paris and by taking arms from Soviet revisionists	Same as R Y M. I.	U S should get out now but it is no socialist revolution Socialism is a world movement and Ho is fighting as a nationalist He should be encouraged toward world socialism	U S. should get out now, but Ho and Vietcong leaders are Stalinists, incapable of establishing a workers' democracy
Race	Blacks are an internal colony and must be liberated by gaining right of secession Their fight will be a spearhead of socialist revolution. Whites must follow black leadership.	Blacks are a super-exploited section of the working class, and should join with the Progressive Labor Party Working class can solve race problem by establishing dictatorship of all proletariat, including blacks.	There are two possible courses for the black revolution in the U S socialist and an alliance of black workers with petty bourgeoisie for self-determination Blacks must make their own choice	A black-white alliance in common struggles for common material demands is the cornerstone of the future socialist society	Whites should support black demands but expand them to class demands. Urge *open* admission to universities.
Communism	We are revolutionary Communists So are the people of Cuba, and North Vietnam, but not the people of the U.S.S R They are revisionists.	We are Communist. China and Albania are true Communist countries. Soviet Union is capitalist.	We are Maoists We support China Albania oppose East Germany and Czechoslovakia We sympathize with Rumania, North Vietnam and North Korea. The Soviet Union is very evil.	We are socialists To be truly socialist, "red" countries will need revolutions in the West, setting up massive exchanges of capital goods	We are socialists. All "red" countries are not Communist but Stalinist
Sex	Women can be part of the international liberation army, fellow fighters in the struggle Puritanism allied to Mao's.	Guys can live with girls but they must *respect* them. Puritanism allied to Stalin's.	Respect women, but it's acceptable to fight for women's rights and day-care centers Puritanism allied to Nixon's.	No stated position, but anti-Puritan	The same as the Labor Committee.
Education	More admissions for blacks, as a tactic to shut down schools.	Workers should not demand admission to colleges. Colleges teach bourgeois values and twist free minds.	More admissions for blacks.	Better education for everyone to increase productivity, eliminate poverty.	Universal free higher education.
Taxes	No stated position.	Taxes are going up because capitalists exploit other people.	End the Vietnam war tax	Tax income is being wastefully invested by the U S. government and business.	The same as R Y M II
Revolution	There may be a minority revolution by blacks. Youth, an oppressed class, can join, along with white-collar workers who are also proletarians. Revolutionaries should not waste time combatting specific social ills but instead should fight police, teachers, social workers—i.e., all pigs.	Workers can be made to learn to recognize government as their enemy because it suppresses their strikes. Communists (i.e., the P L.) should accompany workers in trade-union struggles and point this out.	P.L. is partly right but fails to put enough stress on blacks in the struggle Weatherman faction is adventurist.	Socialists must get themselves together, see where they are tending and form a worker-student-black coalition to bring about, with as little violence as possible, the world socialist state	P.L. is generally right, but undemocratic A democratic revolution is possible in America.

Welcome to the radical dimension, sixteen years before *1984*.

Considering Chicago and afterward, one thinks of diffuseness that is as old as the Left itself. Here are people who agree on sweeping principles and wage war on lesser ones. Here are factions of the Far Left approaching totalitarianism through a back door, like Mussolini. Here, in an organization committed to oppose strong leadership, Mark Rudd, a strong leader, shows a sublime, or catlike, ability to survive.

At the 1968 S.D.S. convention on the Michigan campus, Rudd, fresh from his conquest of Columbia, entered like an emperor and was spurned. The S.D.S. elected a hulking Californian named Michael Klonsky as national secretary. Bernardine Dohrn, a handsome, driving graduate of the University of Chicago Law School, was elected inter-organizational secretary. To the majority then, Rudd was a movie-star type, a flabby thinker, self-serving and a creation of the capitalist press.

Now a year later, after the great split, Rudd stood before the eight hundred members of the Revolutionary Youth Movement who had gathered in the First Congregational Church of Chicago. "I *am* a press-created leader," he said. "The media have made me a symbol of the New Left. While I don't approve, the movement needs leadership and symbols. My name exists as a symbol and at this time I think that's a good thing." On the basis of this talk, Rudd was elected national secretary, overwhelmingly defeating Robert Avakian, a round, intense Mao expert who leads B.A.R.U., California's Bay Area Revolutionary Union.

To understand these events and indeed the dissolution of the S.D.S., one has to call to mind the circumstances of last June and to view them (and the world) in the way that a radical would. As radicals saw matters, America in June was shuddering at the epicenter of the imperialist world. America's trouble excited them. It whipped their resolve and tickled their imagination with the persistent fantasy of revolution. When the radicals went to Chicago, they really thought that they might soon be contesting for control of the United States government. Consider June events:

The prime interest rate had just been advanced to eight and a half percent.

"The reason," one radical told me, "is that debts have become larger than the means of paying them off. The country has invested too much in nonproductive areas. The Vietnam war is a nonproductive area. As a result, we have a classic Marxist case: the underproduction of wealth. That always precedes economic collapse. A money crisis is the first robin of depression."

Nixon was dealing and pleading with Congress to retain the income-tax surcharge.

"As depression gets closer," the radical said, "the ruling class defends itself by attacking the living standard of others. They cut back on education and welfare, the way they have in New York State. They increase taxes. Of course, these are only stopgaps."

For the first time since Korea, there was serious talk that Federal wage and price controls were needed to stop inflation.

"This might not happen until the Rockefeller wing—the brightest wing—of the international banking community gains more power in the Administration. This will be effective for a time, but it is only a more sophisticated stopgap."

Hospital workers were continuing an unpopular strike in Charleston, North Carolina.

"As real wages decline, and American real wages have been declining for four years, workers become confused. Instead of turning on their true opressors, the international capitalists, they act in isolated, individual ways. They even turn on one another. Blacks blame a kind of low-level bigotry for their plight. Craft unions move to bar blacks. Despite this seeming disunity, the wave of strikes is another robin of the coming depression."

A powerful anti-black vote was apparent in the success of George Wallace, the nominations of John Marchi and Mario Proccacino in New York and the election of Sam Yorty in Los Angeles.

"Just as pogroms in Russia increased as the revolution approached, America's mounting racism is another sign that a depression and subsequent revolution is coming."

The right was growing swiftly stronger.

"If we are not to go from the abomination of Eisenhower-Kennedy-Johnson-Nixon, the gang-bang fathers of Vietnam, straight to the dust, straight to outright fascism, then we radicals are going to have to get ourselves together right now."

The national leaders of the S.D.S. wanted to convene on a campus, but a dozen or so universities turned them down. Jeff Gordon, an owlish Brooklynite who is a Worker-Student leader, found possible campus sites in New England. Now Klonsky and Bernardine Dohrn declined. New England was a Worker-Student stronghold. Instead they decided to meet at the Coliseum, a drab complex of halls and theatres behind a single dirty marquee on the South Side of Chicago. In the third week of June, young delegates converged on Chicago, sometimes by bus, more often five or six to an old car. Labor Committee people came from New York, and Worker-Student people came from Boston and Revolutionary Youth Movement people came all the way from California. A few, very few, came from Independent Socialist Clubs. Some of the Easterners who cut across Canada were rewarded with minute baggage examinations. The customs men were looking for heroin and marijuana. One claimed to have found pot in Rudd's belongings a month earlier.

It was a hard trip and not immediately rewarding. The Coliseum is a depressed arena set in a depressed area. An ancient greystone public school weathers slowly across the street. It is the kind of school Chicago reserves for ghetto children. The thick walls suggest a prison. There are cheap lunch counters nearby and a workingman's bar. It is a proletarian neighborhood and somber.

The convention began on the cool threatening Wednesday of June 18, starting five hours late. In the morning South Wabash Avenue was a muddle of radicals and newspapermen and plainclothesmen. Police photographers moved into the greystone school with long-range movie cameras but no uniformed police were in sight. Although Mayor Daley can discount liberal pressure, he could not ignore businessmen who warned that another Chicago police riot might drive conventions to other cities. "Even," someone said, "if all the victims are Commies, it'll look bad."

A few reporters were trying to interview students on the sidewalk. Others, under twenty-eight, joined the lines waiting to file past registration tables where, for a $5 fee, delegates were issued blue identification cards. One newspaperman passed by saying, "I'm from the University of Chicago." Another, claiming to be a University of Wisconsin man, was challenged.

"Name someone in the English department at Madison," said a bespectacled English girl behind a table.

"Professor Kelly," the reporter said.

"Okay," the girl said, leaving the reporter to wonder whether a man named Kelly really taught English at Wisconsin or whether the girl was as ignorant as he.

Inside a security detachment searched everyone. The security men wore green armbands, and examined wallets or purses. Then each delegate was patted down. It was two days before Jeff Gordon rose on the floor to protest that "women's breasts are being felt and their legs are being felt close to their vaginas." After that women were added to the searching corps.

The hall was grey and dark and noisy. Voices echoed, the way they do in buildings at a zoo, and this would be important later when chanting started. All the seats were temporary. They could be picked up and thrown. The podium was fairly large and guarded on every side except the front by a railing. Along the walls, factions set up tables where their literature was available. People filed in slowly, and stood in knots. The Worker-Student Alliance believes in conventional grooming, which is to say haircuts and shaves. The Revolutionary Youth Movement prefers long hair and flowing moustaches. The room seemed fairly closely divided.

A Midwesterner named Tim McCarthy, brown-haired and harassed, was the S.D.S. Sam Rayburn, the permanent chairman. He had no gavel. Instead McCarthy used a rock to rap for order. At two o'clock he recognized Mike Klonsky.

Klonsky, twenty-six, and a graduate of San Fernando State, wore old pants and a camp T-shirt. He has light blond hair, a large saint-blond moustache and he looks powerful, but speaks haltingly. Klonsky proposed that almost all the press be admitted, provided each reporter paid a $25 fee and signed an affidavit that he "won't testify against us." The Coliseum rental was $400 a day and, Klonsky said, why not let the press pick up that tab. They can afford it.

Under any circumstances, The New York *Times* was to be barred. A *Times* national correspondent named Anthony Ripley had testified before the House Internal Security Committee, and Klonsky insisted the paper would have to be penalized.

"Actually," says Gene Roberts, National News Editor of The *Times*, "Ripley did not want to testify. He turned down a committee request. Then they subpoenaed him." Bernardine Dohrn told Ripley a year ago that she was "not a socialist but a revolutionary communist with a small c." The committee wanted that quote on record. All Ripley finally testified, in effect, was that his original *Times* story was accurate.

Still, Klonsky said, "No New York *Times*."

Next McCarthy recognized Ed Clark, a drawling, balding man from New Orleans who stood with the W.-S.A. "We shouldn't let any reporters in," Clark said. "The capitalist press is not going to print the truth. They'll distort what happens. They always distort. We have our own press. We don't need the capitalist press. Bar them all." The hall erupted into applause. A few minutes later Clark's resolution passed 3 to 2.

The vote was significant because it was factional. Clark of the Progressive Labor Party-Worker-Student Alliance had defeated Klonsky of the Revolutionary Youth Movement. From this point forward, not more than an hour into the convention, the R.Y.M., which controlled the chair and the national offices, knew that it was outnumbered.

The maneuvering that followed was rather like that at the major party conventions. Small irrelevant issues are used as tests of strength. Positions are adopted not for ideological reasons but to gain delegates. Floor leaders buttonhole, arm twist, promise. And everyone looks for a single popular issue that will entrap the uncommitted. Perhaps a quarter of the delegates were women and that night both sides hit upon an identical strategem to woo the uncommitted. They would support women's liberation.

Someone distributed a pamphlet headed: *The Fight for Women's Liberation is Basic to Defeating Imperialism!* In it, eight New Yorkers, mostly women, argued that "females, a vital part of the labor movement" were exploited, and had been at least since an 1824 strike in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. Black women were triply exploited: "first as workers, second as black people, and third, as women." The pamphleteers all but shrieked against male chauvinism within the movement. "In a recent leaflet put out by the Revolutionary Student Union in Berkeley around People's Park, we find a picture." The pamphlet reproduced an illustration of a full-breasted girl lifting a sweater toward her head. The girl wore no brassiere and the sweater was above the third rib when the shutter clicked. The caption read, "Today we relax."

Both sides agreed that this chauvinism was intolerable and, as the first day's jousting ended, outraged men were grabbing copies of the female liberation pamphlets as fast as the outraged women could distribute them.

Mark Rudd's responses tingle to disaster. When he was a Boy Scout, growing up fat and happy in the middle-class fastness of Maplewood, New Jersey, he was often driven to see his grandparents' store in Newark's dark and boiling central ward. The disaster of that neighborhood, he insists, nourished his radicalism. Later, at Columbia, he became particularly good at rallying student protesters after setbacks. Now, as the R.Y.M. caucused in the Coliseum balcony on the morning of the second day, Rudd's assurance swelled. The group was calling itself The Weatherman, after a line of Bob Dylan's: "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows."

Klonsky and Carl Davidson, a reporter for the radical weekly *Guardian*, were suggesting that the American blacks were about to enter "a new democratic stage." Blacks might stop rioting, and join with the bourgeoisie and press for progress within the American laws.

Standing in a checked shirt, Rudd said, "Well, sure. But the working class consists of everyone who doesn't own the means of production and the blacks sure as shit don't own them. So we can't talk about a new democratic stage for the blacks. They have to be liberated by a socialist revolution, the way Vietnam should be liberated and the way China was liberated."

"We can't go irresponsible and tell the blacks that there won't be a new stage of democratic progress," Davidson said.

"We sure as hell can," Rudd said. "We can talk to black people and give them the understanding our revolutionary Marxism gives us. We're revolutionaries."

Rudd carried the point. R.Y.M. would continue to preach revolution at blacks. Later, during a break, feeling his own importance, he strode down Wabash Avenue with his Oriental girl friend and another girl, a German expatriate. A news photographer began snapping and Rudd rushed forward, arms out, hands up, commanding. "Who are you? Who are you taking pictures for?"

The photographer backed off. "I'm with *Women's Wear Daily*," he said. "I'm supposed to get pictures of the way women of the Left dress. Who are you?"

For the next two days the Worker-Student Alliance, under Gordon and Pennington and the Revolutionary Youth Movement under Klonsky, Dohrn and Bob Avakian circled one another. The W.-S.A. kept winning test votes, but narrowly. Owlish Jeff Gordon and earnest John Pennington were nervous. The R.Y.M. leaders felt defeat. The feminist issue was now useless, but one asset R.Y.M. possessed was good lines into minority groups. On Thursday and Friday, they marshaled black and tan and brown, huddled with them, gave them the podium and urged them to get "the racist W.-S.A."

A tall thin Puerto Rican, wearing a purple beret, led off. "All people should have the right to self-determination," he said. The Puerto Rican was prominent in a gang called The Young Lords. He criticized W.-S.A. for not recognizing Puerto Ricans as a nation. Then he recited a history of Puerto Rico.

"And now," he said at length, "I want you to meet my friend Corky."

Corky wore a brown beret. He was short and chubby, a Mexican-American. "Remember the Western United States was stolen from Mexico," Corky said. "We need self-determination." Corky read an extended list of American communities which he said should have self-determination. The hall was yawning. Chaka Walls spoke next.

Walls is a quick, angry, powerful man, a leader of the Illinois Black Panther Party. "Blacks have the right to self-determination," he shouted. Abruptly the hall rang with cheers. Walls was excited. "I'm gonna tell you motherf——ers, blacks have a right to choose. I've seen a lot of things around here I don't like. People says blacks don't have a right to choose as blacks. You motherf——ers better get yourselves together."

Whatever Klonsky and Dohrn wanted they were stuck. Chaka had the microphone plus the attention of fifteen hundred whites and he was not letting go. "About all this male chauvinism," he said. "I'm for pussy power myself." Seated in the hall, you could see some women cringe. Like Orwell's left, the S.D.S. is stained with puritanism. Motherf——er is a neccessary obscenity. Pussy power is upsetting to a nice middle-class radical girl.

"Revolutionary women have a lot to contribute," Walls said. "I'm glad to see there're enough women around here for all the revolution. The way the women contribute is by getting laid."

R.Y.M strategy was becoming a disaster. In the back of the hall W.-S.A. people chanted, *"Fight male chauvinism. Fight male chauvinism."*

But Walls was out of control. "Superman," he shouted, "was a punk. He never even tried to f—— Lois Lane."

The chant swelled. Walls could not go on. After a while Jul Cook, another Panther, replaced Walls at the microphone and pleaded for quiet. "The Worker-Student Alliance," he said, "comes here and makes a lot of noise, but they're not leading any fights on campus." A hearty cheer rose from R.Y.M. "But," Cook said, "you got to know I'm with my brother. I'm for pussy power myself. The *position* of women in the movement. . . ."

People guessed what was coming. The chant against male chauvinism renewed.

"The position of the women," roared Cook, "should be *prone*."

R.Y.M. strategy had collapsed. The noble Panthers were playing burlesque comics. A girl got up and said she refused to have women's liberation used as a political football. Someone else wondered if Jul Cook, the Panther, understood the difference between prone and supine or if he was revealing a matter of personal preference.

On Friday night R.Y.M. walked out. At first R.Y.M. leaders bickered. Bernardine Dohrn insisted that black liberation could come about only through a socialist revolution. Klonsky and Avakian thought it might happen separately. But against a swarming common enemy, the two R.Y.M. factions got themselves together long enough to urge Jul Cook to play a second engagement. At seven p.m. Tim McCarthy rushed to the microphone and shouted:

"The Panthers have asked to speak again and here they are." It was a kind of vaudeville introduction.

This time Cook carried a written speech. "The Panthers and the Young Lords and the Brown Berets have gotten together," he began, "and adopted a common position. The Progressive Labor-Worker-Student Alliance faction is acting like pigs. They're holding back the black and brown peoples' struggle for self-determination. Immediately after the convention, chicken shit P.L. is going to change its position *because* P.L. is chicken shit."

W.-S.A. people sat silent. It is as hard for a radical to lash out at a black as it is for him to praise a policeman. "P.L. acts like cops," Cook said. "They act like counterrevolutionaries. P.L. is the reincarnation of Leon Trotsky." There were a few shouts of protest. "Chairman Mao supports liberation for all oppressed people."

At last W.-S.A. chanted. *Read Mao, Read Mao, Read Mao.*

"P.L. is counterrevolutionary," Cook yelled at the microphone.

The W.-S.A. faction, all about the dingy hall, chanted: *Bullshit, Bullshit, Bullshit*

A half dozen Panthers walked toward the Progressive Labor Party's literature table on the left side of the hall. They stood glaring, intimidating. Jeff Gordon and John Pennington dispatched a battalion and soon the angry Panthers were surrounded by men from the W.-S.A.

The chants continued. Bob Avakian's group, several hundred strong, began a rhythmic: *Power to the people. Power to the people.* The W.-S.A. shifted smoothly: *Power to the workers. Power to the workers.* A group of New Yorkers began to bellow: *Let's go, Mets.*

The place was deafening. Mike Klonsky walked to the microphone and tried to speak. The W.-S.A. roared: *Rebuttal. Rebuttal.* Klonsky glared at the chanters, who ignored him. Jeff Gordon rose and, surrounded by a dozen men, walked to the microphone. His cadre wore red-and-white buttons on their left shoulders, the insignia of the new W.-S.A. security force.

Speaking very slowly, Gordon said, "The Progressive Labor Party will not be intimidated out of S.D.S." (Roaring applause.) "We support national liberation all over the world. We support the Black Panther Party. When we criticize the Panthers it is in a comradely and constructive fashion. We support self-determination for all the black people in the United States." Gordon stepped down and the hall resounded to: *Fight racism. Fight racism.*

The leadership of R.Y.M. gathered at the rear of the podium. They had lost control of the agenda and the delegates and the meeting, and now it appeared that they would lose control of S.D.S. On the floor someone said, "They've driven into the Holland Tunnel the wrong way. Now they're stopping the car while they figure out what to do."

At nine forty-five Rudd walked to the microphone. "If we go on this way," he said, "we'll have fights, not political discussion. I suggest we recess for an hour. Frankly I'm not suggesting this only to let the situation cool. We want to caucus to decide what to do."

On the platform behind him, R.Y.M. leaders argued Rudd's proposal. Bernardine Dohrn was talking heatedly with Klonsky, who had a pacifying hand on one of hers. Suddenly Bernardine spun away and marched to the microphone, breathless and intense.

Usually, Bernardine is immaculate and poised. Now she was perspiring. Her soft brown hair looked scraggly. Her silky yellow blouse had come unbuttoned. "Some of us are going to have to decide," she shouted, "whether our principles allow us to stay in the same organization with people who deny the right of self-determination to the oppressed. Anyone who would like a discussion of that, follow me into the next room." She strutted off the podium toward a corridor on the left, opening to a large, empty room. Mike Klonsky stared after Bernardine, looking as though his favorite grandmother had fallen off a roof. Rudd moved quickly behind Bernardine. Slowly the rest of the R.Y.M. hierarchy followed. All around the room people rose and walked out.

The W.-S.A. started chants. *Sit down.* Some picked up chairs and banged them against the floor. *Sit* (beat, beat, beat) *down. Sit* (beat, beat, beat) *down.* Others chanted *Stay and fight. Stay and fight.* But at least a third of the people walked out after Bernardine. The S.D.S. was never whole again.

R.Y.M. devised its doomsday device on the next evening. The W.-S.A. meeting, under a new chairman, broke itself into workshops. Groups moved their chairs and gathered, facing one another and discussed racism, imperialism and how it was essential for young radicals not only to teach workers, but to learn from the workers as well. The point about blacks, people said over and over, was that they were a part of the oppressed proletarian class.

It was almost eleven o'clock when Jared Israel of W.-S.A., a black-haired New Yorker who had moved to Boston, concluded a private meeting with Mike Klonsky. He returned to the main floor and asked for attention. "Look," he shouted, "I have information that the R.Y.M. people are finally coming back here. When they do, please don't hiss or chant. All we need is for a fight. Then the Chicago pigs will bust us all."

Israel was preaching docility because, as far as I can learn, Klonsky and Dohrn had urged it on him. Docility was what the R.Y.M. people wanted. It was critical to their careful plan.

A file of R.Y.M. women, Valkyries, left the closed room. A dozen marched through the passageway into the main hall and formed a line about the podium. The girls stood shoulder to shoulder saying nothing. The podium itself was unoccupied.

A column of green armbands came next. These men ringed the radical Valkyries. Two columns now protected the lectern.

A double file of men followed. Ten Black Panthers were in the lead. The file marched to a point in front of the hall, split into two columns and strung themselves out until the W.-S.A. was completely encircled. Someone stood up.

"Sit down," a R.Y.M. man yelled.

"I didn't try to get up," a W.-S.A. member explained later, "and neither would you. It was scary."

The W.-S.A. had been taken in. Their disarrayed people, sprawled about in workshops, were surrounded. Now the R.Y.M. elite marched unchallenged to the podium. Big Mike Klonsky, who reportedly carries a gravity knife, leaned toward the microphone. "We have agreed there will be no fights. I'm sure there will be none," he commanded.

The W.-S.A. was too startled to respond.

Bernardine stepped forward. "In the last twenty-four hours," she cried, her voice grinding, "we in the next room have been discussing principles. We support the national liberation struggles of the Vietnamese, the American blacks and all other colonials. We support all who take up the gun against U.S. imperialism. We support the governments of China, Albania, North Vietnam and North Korea. We support women's liberation."

Backed by the green armbands, the shrill revolutionary held the room. "All members of the Progressive Labor Party-W.-S.A., and all who do not support these principles are objectively racist and counterrevolutionary. They are no longer members of S.D.S."

Too late, W.-S.A. began to chant. Pointing fingers at the podium and thrusting in rhythm, the W.-S.A. people cried: *Shame! Shame! Shame!* But Bernardine's group, having declared itself the winner, was walking out. With muscle and with trickery, the minority had read the majority out of S.D.S.

Later that night, the R.Y.M. people secured the files and the mailing lists and the names of contributors in the National Office on West Madison Street. The next day, while the W.-S.A. was overwhelmingly electing John Pennington, the R.Y.M. group cast its lot with Mark Rudd. Still, some had doubts, and as Rudd was accepting his new office, a thin S.D.S. faction, R.Y.M. II, was born.

"The S.D.S.," the young radical tells me in the hot New York summer, "is dead. It can't be what it was." We are meeting over a Scotch in my living room, and there will be no chanting here.

"What was it?" I say.

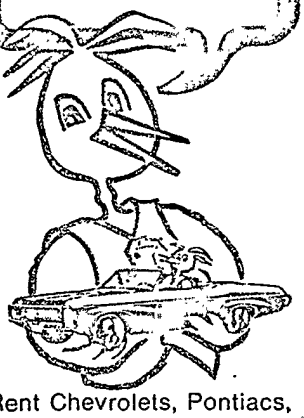
"It was a focus for young leftists everywhere. It was a place where we could get together and learn from one another. It was where we found out how to use our local experiences—my own at Cornell, somebody else's somewhere else—and make some sense out of them. It was where we grew from being merely radicals—people who talk big change in the parlor—to becoming active revolutionaries. It's revolutionaries, not radicals, who disrupt the campus fat cats and who let people know that our universities are contributing to imperialism full time. I'm proud of that."

Technically, the S.D.S. traces to the 1930's when the Fabian socialist League for Industrial Democracy opened a student division. But actually it is an organization of *(Continued on page 100)*

Jaspers

Our Yellow-Vested Penny-Pincher says:

We hatched a scheme to save you money!



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Block "good-naturedly volunteered to do these things for me."

Getty's latest book, *The Golden Age*, came out last year and is full of such nuggets of vatic wisdom as this: "Sound, carefully selected common stocks are potentially excellent investments." I'm no Hetty Green but I could have thought that one up, myself. That vague statement is as far as he goes—and you notice that he hedges even on that with the word "potentially"—so no one is going to pick up any specific pointers from the book, which is supposed to be a guide to a happy old age. "The most successful man in the world reveals his personal formula for dynamic living," says the jacket. Simple. Just carefully select some sound stocks and they *could* turn out to be good investments! His formula is boiled down to "four simple steps" by which people can prepare to meet old age and retirement "with delight." These are: 1. Everyone who works for a living should realize very early that one day he must retire. 2. "Employees need to understand clearly that compulsory retirement for age does not stigmatize them as discards." 3. The person who knows when he will retire "should set and define the goals he desires to achieve" and "work energetically and enthusiastically to achieve them." 4. He should seek to define what he desires to do *after* retirement.

Follow those rules and you've got it made. Never mind unimportant details like *how*. Old age and compulsory retirement, says Getty, can be the start of a fresh, exciting life. Social Security benefits have removed the fear of poverty, although he admits, rather waggishly, that they "do not allow the recipients to bathe in vintage champagne or gorge themselves on caviar."

During our interview I asked him about a phrase in one of his books which contrasted what he called "postal-clerk types" with "the millionaire mentality." "The millionaire mentality," he explained, "is always and above all cost-minded and profit-conscious. Perhaps entrepreneur type of mentality is a better word. An entrepreneur is someone who hopes to be a millionaire, while unfortunately too many employees of corporations are not profit-conscious. By this I mean they never think of whether the *business* is making a profit. The postman, for example, we assume—perhaps wrongly—is not unduly concerned about whether the post office is making a profit. That's why I used the term 'postal-clerk types.'"

When I asked him what historical figures he admires, he didn't give any names, saying only, "I've always admired ability and good character in historical figures. Good character is in a sense more important than ability." I wanted to ask him to amplify this and perhaps give an example—just *one*, maybe—but he was beginning to fidget and look at his watch. I can take a hint, so I said I must be going and thanked him for the interview. He shook hands and then darted rather speedily into the adjoining room, where I could hear that tea was being served. I went out into the hall, not daring to go through the lock routine without someone to repeat it after I had left. I wandered through several halls until I came to sort of a pantry, where a man in an apron was working. "May I help you, madam?" he asked. I told him that I wanted to leave and asked him if he would let me out. He led the way back to the front door, opened it for me, and I went out into the sunlight. As I walked away, I could hear the clanking of the bars and bolts behind me. ##

THE COLLAPSE OF S.D.S.

(Continued from page 114) the present revitalized only nine years ago and given a voice in 1962 when Tom Hayden began The Port Huron Statement:

"We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit."

"I'm more uncomfortable than ever," the young radical says, challenging; "aren't you?"

He is upset at what has happened. "It was smart to keep out the press," he says, "because we acted like so many jerks."

I sip my drink and tell the radical that things run their course. First S.D.S. had intended to work through existing institutions. Then it found it could not. First it would have no permanent leaders. Now it is undone by the inability of a Mike Klonsky to contend rationally with a major challenge.

"What are you going to do now?" I ask the radical.

"We're going to fight. All winter long there's going to be a fight between R.Y.M. and W.S.A. for every old S.D.S. chapter in America. But I'm not kidding myself. The fight will settle nothing. We'll only have more splits."

The S.D.S. is a kind of Willy Loman of radical groups, wanting to achieve something it didn't understand. Being young, it sought desperately to be noticed. Notice has come and harshly. Representative Ichord is investigating. State legislatures pass bills against campus protest. Fighting Ronnie Reagan wants to pave over every S.D.S. headquarters in the land.

The irony is disturbing, if you believe, as I do, in many of the positions for which S.D.S. stood. Vietnam can kill us all, or at least drive us to bankruptcy. The blacks have to be brought into society, through Columbia, Harvard and Princeton, as well as through grade school at Yeehaw Junction, Florida.

Enough of us believed these things to set a climate where S.D.S. experimenters could advance. But they were advancing in America, where one of the rules for political success is discipline.

You have to be organized, work through leaders, prepare. The need for discipline did in S.D.S., the fortress of anti-disciplinarianism.

"When someone writes a history of S.D.S.," the radical says, "how do you think it's going to go?"

"What do you mean?"

"Well is he going to mark us down as important radicals, or in the end are we going to look like a pack of anarchists."

We sit a long time. The day and the summer are waning. I have to tell the young man I don't know. ##

Don't tie up mail service—use Zip Code.
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IF YOU LIKE A NICE, BLAND, DELICATE LITTLE DAIQUIRI...

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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 9/30/69

SAC, NEW YORK (100-163303) (P)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reference is made to New York letter dated 6/30/69.

1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

New York is preparing a leaflet designed to take advantage of the split between the Students For A Democratic Society (SDS) and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and to ridicule the splattering relations between SDS and the Black Panther Party (BPP).

Above leaflet will be submitted to the Bureau for approval when layout is completed.

As set forth in New York letter dated 9/18/69, New York will continue efforts to utilize [redacted] b7D to take advantage of the rift between elements of SDS and the BPP over the question of community control.

2. Pending Counterintelligence Action

By letter dated 6/24/69, Bureau authority was received for New York to prepare and mail anonymously a leaflet entitled "Whither Doth We Go, Davy Baby?", designed to ridicule the National Mobilization Committee to End The War In Vietnam (MC) and its leader, DAVID DELLINGER.

During the period 6/30/69 through 7/3/69, the above leaflet was mailed to 192 individuals and organizations active in the New Left movement and to individuals who attended a meeting of "peace" organizations from all over the country held in Cleveland, Ohio over the July 4th week-end.

It is noted that prior to the submission of referenced New York letter, Bureau authority had been received on 6/18/69, for New York to prepare and mail anonymously a

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York

BPM:bpm
(3)

Chief Clerk
Post 9/30/69

NY 163303

SAC, WFO 10/24/69

SAC, NEW YORK (100-163303)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Enclosed for WFO are 50 copies of a leaflet entitled: "Give Them Bananas!", designed to widen the rift between the New Mobilization Committee To End The War In Vietnam (NMC) and the Black United Front (BUF) over the BUF demand that NMC "pay" for their planned March on Washington, 11/15/69.

Enclosed are also 50 unmarked white envelopes for mailing purposes.

By letter dated 10/15/69, Bureau authority was received to prepare and mail anonymously the enclosed leaflet to selected individuals and organizations active in the NMC and BUF in the New York and Washington areas.

WFO is requested to anonymously mail enclosed leaflet to logical leaders in the BUF, NMC and Vietnam Moratorium Committee in the Washington area.

This mailing should be completed well in advance of the 11/15/69 date.

The NYO is distributing those leaflets via anonymous mailing in the NY area.

2 - WFO (Encl. 100) (RM)
1 - NY

BPM:bpm
(3)

Chief Clerk
Post 10/24/69

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-02-2012

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

NY 100-167288
BU 62-111181

New York, New York

October 31, 1969

PROPOSED DEMONSTRATIONS
IN WASHINGTON, D.C.
NOVEMBER 15, 1969

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past furnished a copy of a telegram from Hanoi dated October 14, 1969 directed to the steering committee of the New Mobe, which is attached hereto:

~~Group I~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and de-~~
~~classification~~

This document containes neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-163303-262

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Oct 14 3 44 PM

Global Telegram

ZCZC YW0836 FUR062

URUA CO VTHA 295

FFF HANOI 295/292 14 2100 VIETGVT

ETAT

NEW MOBE 1029 VERMONT AVENUE N.W. SUITE 900

WASHINGTON D.C. 20005

HANOI OCTOBER 14 196.

DEAR AMERICAN FRIENDS

PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE US HAVE SO FAR STRUGGLED AGAINST WAR AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM THIS FALL BROAD MASSES AMERICAN PEOPLE ENCOURAGED AND SUPPORTED BY MANY PEACE AND JUSTICE-LOVING AMERICAN PERSONALITIES HAVE AGAIN STARTED

P2

BROAD AND POWERFUL DRIVE IN WHOLE COUNTRY TO DEMAND THAT NIXON ADMINISTRATION STOP WAR AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM AND IMMEDIATELY BRING HOME ALL ~~U.S. TROOPS~~

YOUR DRIVE ELOQUENTLY REFLECTS LEGITIMATE AND PRESSING DEMAND OF YOUR PEOPLE TO SAVE HONOUR UNITED STATES AND TO AVOID FOR THEIR BOYS A USELESS DEATH IN

CONFIDENTIAL

Proposed Demonstrations
in Washington,DC.

RCA Global Telegram

P3

VIETNAM THIS IS ALSO A VERY FITTING AND TIMELY RESPONSE TO U.S. AUTHORITIES WHO STUBBORNLY PERSIST IN INTENSIFYING AND PROLONGING WAR AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM IN DEFIANCE OF PROTEST AMERICAN AND WORLD PUBLIC OPINION VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND WORLDS PEOPLES FULLY APPROVE AND WARMLY HAIL YOUR JUST STRUGGLE
VIETNAMESE PEOPLE DEMAND

THAT U.S. GOVERNMENT COMPLETELY AND UNCONDITIONALLY PULL OUT OF VIETNAM ALL U.S. TROOPS AND THOSE OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES BELONGING TO ITS CAMP AND LET VIETNAMESE PEOPLE DECIDE THEMSELVES THEIR OWN DESTINY
VIETNAMESE PEOPLE DEEPLY CHERISH PEACE BUT A PEACE IN INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM SO LONG AS U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS NOT

NSA Global Telegram

STOPPED ITS AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM VIETNAMESE PEOPLE
WILL TENACIOUSLY FIGHT
ON TO DEFEND THEIR FUNDAMENTAL NATIONAL RIGHTS
PATRIOTIC FIGHT OUR PEOPLE IS ALSO FIGHT FOR OBJECTIVES
OF PEACE AND JUSTICE YOU ARE PURSUING
WE ARE FIRMLY CONFIDENT THAT WITH SOLIDARITY AND
COURAGE OF OUR TWO PEOPLES WITH SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT

PS

PEACE-LOVING PEOPLES IN
WORLD STRUGGLE OF VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND PROGRESSIVE
PEOPLE IN UNITED STATES AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION WILL END
IN TOTAL VICTORY I WISH YOUR '' FALL OFFENSIVE ''
A BRILLIANT SUCCESS
CORDIAL GREETINGS PHAMVANDONG PRIME MINISTER
OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

NSA Global Telegram

Proposed Demonstrations
in Washington, D.C.

The source also furnished a draft of a letter dated October 16, 1969 from the steering committee of the New Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam directed to PHAM VAN DONG, Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi, Vietnam. This letter is attached hereto:

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT OF ANSWER

October 16, 1969

Pham Van Dong
Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam
Hanoi, Vietnam

Dear Prime Minister Pham Van Dong,

This is to acknowledge receipt of your greeting of October 14. Vice President Agnew, speaking on behalf of President Nixon, said that such a message from you to Americans was a "shocking intrusion into the affairs of the American people." We wish President Nixon's intrusion into the affairs of the Vietnamese people were limited to letters.

We were happy to receive your message because we know the American people and the Vietnamese people share a common need and a common desire for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam.

Sincerely,

Steering Committee
New Mobilization Committee
to End the War in Vietnam

CONFIDENTIAL

The source also obtained a copy of a letter directed to "Dear New Mobe Steering Committee Member", undated and signed by [redacted] b6 b7C

As of October 29, 1969, [redacted] was a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) National and Political Committee Member according to a second source who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The letter is attached hereto:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Dear New Mobe Steering Committee Member,

I feel it is necessary to call to your attention the following incident: At our steering committee meeting in Washington Oct. 16, it was reported that a cable had been received by the New Mobe from Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The cable is similar to the letter which Vice President Agnew demanded the peace movement disassociate itself from, except that it is addressed to the New Mobe.

After the cable was read, I made a motion that the cable should be answered cordially and released to the press together with the answer and a press release disassociating ourselves from the Agnew-Nixon attempt to red-bait the peace movement. This motion was passed without dissent. No one spoke against it, or even raised a question about it, though several people spoke in favor of it. I was then asked to do a draft of the answer.

The next morning when I submitted this to the press room, I was told by [redacted] that [redacted] had asked that nothing on this matter be released to the press, that it be "held up" because it might complicate negotiations with the Moratorium. I explained that I considered this a matter of principle, that not to answer such a red baiting attack was a bad error, and insisted that the statement be sent out. But to no avail. I then told [redacted] I intended to press this matter by calling members of the steering committee and co-chairmen and by talking it up at the next steering committee meeting. I tried, but was unable to reach [redacted] on the phone, so I left a message with [redacted] as to my concern in this matter.

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I consider the refusal to implement the steering committee vote to be wrong on two counts: First, it is a political blunder of the most serious kind not to answer this red baiting attack head on. We all should know from experience that red-baiting cannot be countered by ignoring it, it must be answered by attacking it. We also know that the November actions are putting extreme pressure on the Nixon administration and that the administration is searching for ways to counter them and divide and weaken the peace movement. We also know Nixon's own history: his own political career was intimately involved with

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the McCarthy witch hunt and he is a past master at this technique, and there is no reason to expect that he will not try it again. Of course, the period is different now, and we can successfully counter a red baiting attack and turn it against its perpetrators, but this requires a fighting stance on this matter. To have failed to assume that stance in relation to the Pham Van Dong letter incident represented weakness in the face of this attack and meant that we missed an excellent opportunity to educate broad masses of people on this question.

Second, the refusal to send the statement out is wrong because it is a usurpation by an officer of the decision-making power of the responsible body, the steering committee, on a matter of great substance. This should not be allowed to continue. Stewart was present at the steering committee meeting and made no indication of dissent on this matter.

In insisting that this statement be sent out, I was fully aware of the importance of relations with the Moratorium and fully in support of the need to keep them involved in tho November actions. A forthright answer to this red-baiting attack would have strengthened our hand in these relations, not weakened it.

With the growth of the anti-war movement into a real mass movement, with the entrance into activity of huge numbers who were not previously involved, and with the entrance into activity of new sections of the population we also have a number of elements becoming involved who will attempt to coopt the movement, to blunt it or divide it or attempt to drive out the radicals. It would be incorrect for us to denounce these people for becoming involved in the movement. On the contrary, we should have the attitude of "welcome aboard" and take advantage of their participation to educate the larger numbers of people who open their ears in part precisely because so many prominent figures are making statements against the war. But if we give in to their tendencies to buckle to witch hunting, a process will begin which can only end in the destruction of the movement and the prolonging of the war. b6 b7C

Sincerely,

[redacted]

P.S. Enclosed find copies of the Pham Van Dong cable and the draft of the reply. The wording of this draft is not at issue. I had no objection to having it elaborated or changed. I enclose it simply to show that even this moderate wording was"held up."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

10/31/69

AIRTEL AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (62-111181)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-167288)

SUBJECT: DEMNOV

Re NY teletype dated 10/31/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM concerning a telegram from Hanoi and other correspondence. Enclosed for WFO are 5 copies of the LHM.

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The first source is [redacted].

The second source used to characterize [redacted] is [redacted].

The LHM is classified ~~"Confidential"~~ because data reported by the 2 sources, if disclosed, could result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness. Such compromise could be detrimental to the defense interests of the nation.

The contents of the letters contained in the LHM tends to lend itself to counter-intelligence measures. If this information was in fact given to the news media it could cause disruption among the leadership of the New Mobe as well as alienate legitimate "Peace organizations" from participating in the Nov. action. It is requested that copies of the telegram and letter to Pham Van Dong, only, be sent anonymously to news agencies in NYC.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 11)(RM)
2 - WFO (Enc. 5)(RM)
(2) - New York (100-167288)
(1) - 100-163303)(COUNTERINPRO)

100-163303-263

[redacted] b6 b7C

OCT 31 1969

RAC:rtc
(7)

[redacted]

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) 11/25/69

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM

ReBulet, 11/12/69 to San Francisco and New Haven, copy attached herewith for New York.

New York, office of origin on "Newsreel", may be able to obtain a copy of the film "Wilmington".

New Haven airtel to Bureau, 9/15/69, entitled "BPP" stated that the Panthers had ordered this film from "Newsreel".

If not available in New York, New York should advise other offices so informants can be alerted to obtain it. b7D

[redacted] b7D

alerted 12/2/69

[redacted] Rental 15.00

"Wilmington" 16mm B/W - Approx 400 Ft. Running Time 12 minutes Estimated cost to reproduce $45.00 (one copy)

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New Haven (100-19106)
(2) - New York (100-161993) (RM) (Enc.1)
1 - San Francisco

APC/jrp
(7)

100-163303

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
NOV 28 1969
FBI — NEW YORK

12/2/69

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-02-2012

1/7/70

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AIRTEL

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-153777)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-157554)

~~CLASS. BY SP4 ON 2/2/84~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW OADR~~

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SUBJECT: [redacted]
(KEY ACTIVIST)
(OO: NY)

ReBuairtel to NY, 12/8/69 entitled "NMC-INFORMATION CONCERNING (INTERNAL SECURITY)"; NYairtel to Director, 12/11/69.

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On 1/6/70, [redacted] advised subject [redacted] are currently residing at [redacted].

On 1/6/70, a pretext telephone call to [redacted] disclosed subject is currently [redacted].

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Coverage of [redacted] future activities has been established through [redacted] is employed on [redacted] as a [redacted] and is in a position to furnish information concerning subject's activities.

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Additional coverage of subject's activities is made through [redacted] and [redacted] who have furnished past information concerning subject. (U)

b7D

100-163303-270

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
JAN 7 - 1970
FBI - NEW YORK

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3-Bureau (RM)
(1-62-111181)
1-New York (100-158917) (NMC) (#42)
1-New York (100-163303) (COINTELPRO) (#42)
1-New York
AJG:kxb
(6)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Counterintelligence (CI) measures have been instituted by the NYO under a CI program against various organizations in the New Left, specifically the NMC and is handled under COINTELPRO-New Left, NYfile 100-163303; Bufile 100-449698. By letter dated 12/30/69, NYO advised Bureau that a leaflet directed against the NMC was in preparation and would be submitted for Bureau approval. It is anticipated this will be submitted in the near future and will include measures against the NMC. This action would involve the subject who is included as a [redacted] of the NMC. b6 b7C

Regarding specific CI measures against the subject, the NYO feels that such action would be undesirable and not warranted at this time in view of the fact that [redacted] is [redacted] b6 b7C

On 12/12/69, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, stated that the subject is [redacted] of the American Friends Service Committee which source described as a Quaker oriented group. Source stated subject has been active in [redacted] (U) b6 b7C b7D

According to the above source, [redacted] attended and actively participated in the NMC conference held during July, 1969 in [redacted], Ohio, and it was during this conference that plans were formulated to stage a massive peaceful anti-war demonstration in Washington, D.C. on 11/15/69. This source related that during the Cleveland conference [redacted] was vocal in advocating a peaceful type legal demonstration in Washington, D.C., and as a result of his philosophy was highly regarded among the leadership of the "moratorium committee". (U) b6 b7C

The above source further stated that because of [redacted] "peaceful philosophy" toward anti-war demonstrations, he was successful in building a strong rapport with the leaders of the moratorium committee who the NMC currently regards as an influential body in developing anti-war sentiments. As a result of this relationship, [redacted] (U) b6 b7C b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The subject's past activities and statements indicate a complete adherence to his self-proclaimed pacifist position and no information to date indicates sympathy, membership or activity in a militant or revolutionary organization. (U)

In view of subject's complete lack of militancy, the NYO will consider recommending that [redacted] be deleted from Key Activist status upon submission of an up to date report to be submitted by 1/30/70 as set forth in referenced NY letter. (U)

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b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-02-2012

SAC (100-161993) 12/17/69

SA JOHN C. SULLIVAN (#43)

CONFIDENTIAL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM-BPP

NY 6713-S*, a highly placed sensitive source, advised on 12/2/69, that on the same date an Unsub, male, contacted [redacted] at the BPP office in Harlem, and identified himself as the Student Mobilization Committee in Oneonta, NY. Unsub said he would like five or six Black Panther papers to be sent to us every week so we can sell them at our table. (U)

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"Send them to the Student Mobilization Committee, Box 156, Old Main, Suco, Oneonta, NY 13820. Unsub also said, "If you could send us any literature and things we'd really appreciate it." (U)

[redacted] said the papers would cost $1.50. (U)

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1- 157-4730 [redacted]
1- 100- (Student Mobilization Committee)
1- 100- (Counter-Intelligence #45)

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JCS:lop
(4)

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
DEC 17 1969
FBI — NEW YORK

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-02-2012

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
February 19, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.
Bu file 100-449923
NY file 100-161445

File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, pgs 66-73 (RR)

Abbott Howard Hoffman

All sources utilized in this memorandum have furnished reliable information in the past.

Abbott Howard Hoffman, also known as Abbie Hoffman, and his wife, Anita Hoffman, maintain their residence in the roof apartment located at 114-116 East 13th Street, New York, New York (NY).

Abbott Howard Hoffman has Social Security Number 030-28-6194.

NY T-1 advised on January 14, 1969, that at that time the subject was self-employed as a writer from his residence.

The source stated the subject received a $3,000 advance from his publisher, Dial Press, New York City (NYC), for writing his book, "Revolution for the Hell of It", under the pen name "Free".

The source stated the subject received three cents royalty for each copy of the book sold but would not receive any royalties until enough books had been sold to pay back the advance.

Retain Classification 4/4/73

CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-163303-02

Abbott Howard Hoffman

NY T-2 advised on August 4, 1969, that he recalled the subject was paid the sum of $70 for an appearance that he made as a guest speaker at Richmond College, Staten Island, NY, on February 20, 1969, as part of an experimental class called a "commune" and that this money was from funds of the student government at Richmond College.

On March 4, 1969, NY T-3 advised [redacted]

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Information furnished by NY T-3 in this memorandum is not to be made public without the usual proceedings following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted]

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In addition, NY T-3 no longer has custody of the basic documents from which the information in this memorandum was obtained.

The April, May and June, 1966, issue of "Rights", a self-described publication of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), reflects that [redacted] was a new member of the ECLC National Council.

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A characterization of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC), formerly known as the ECLC, is contained in the appendix hereto.

NY T-4 advised on September 12, 1969, that the subject received $500 for speaking at the New York State University College at Potsdam, NY, on March 4, 1969.

Abbott Howard Hoffman

NY T-5 advised on July 31, 1969, that with respect to a speaking appearance the subject made at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, on March 16, 1969, the subject was not paid a fee by the college but was given some money taken up as a collection from among the students who were interested in giving to that purpose.

The source stated he was not familiar with the amount of money the subject might have received nor would there be any record of it anywhere at the college.

NY T-6 advised on July 28, 1969, that Wright State University, Fairborn, Ohio, gave the subject a check in the amount of $200 dated March, 19, 1969, for a speaking appearance at that University on March 17, 1969, as part of the school's, "Artists and Lecturers" series. The amount was agreed upon between the subject and or his agent and the Artists and Lecturers Series Committee of Wright State University.

The source stated there was no breakdown between services and expenses.

NY T-7 advised on August 27, 1969, that the Bug House Square Group, an official student activity group at Northern Illinois State College, Chicago, Illinois which secures its funds from student activity fees at the college, paid the subject $300 for a speaking appearance at the college on April 10, 1969, and that the subject donated his check to the Black Panther Party (BPP) of Chicago, Illinois.

A characterization of the BPP is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

On May 2, 1969, NY T-8 advised [redacted] b7D

[redacted]

Abbott Howard Hoffman

[redacted] b6 b7C b7D

The source continued that [redacted] b7D

[redacted]

Information attributed to NY T-8 in this memorandum is not to be made public without the usual proceedings following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum, directed to [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

In addition, NY T-8 no longer has custody of the basic documents from which [redacted] information in this memorandum was obtained. b7D

On April 16, 1969, [redacted] St. Joseph's College, Rensselaer, Indiana, advised that the subject spoke in the St. Joseph's College gymnasium on April 15, 1969, and was paid $600 plus travel expenses for this appearance. b6 b7C

NY T-9 advised on May 13, 1969, that the subject was paid $400 net for his lecture at St. Joseph's College, Rensselaer, Indiana, on April 15, 1969, by Richard Fulton, Incorporated, Lecture and Artist Bureau, 200 West 57th Street, NYC.

In addition, the source stated that all of the subject's expenses for this speaking appearance were paid by Richard Fulton, Incorporated, which money was reimbursed by the Student Association at St. Joseph's College, the sponsoring organization for the subject's appearance at the college.

Abbott Howard Hoffman

NY T-10 advised on July 23, 1969, that the University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, paid the subject $500 from the "student funds" by check dated April 28, 1969, for a speaking appearance at the university on April 28, 1969. The National Speakers Bureau, 3020 Hanover Street, Los Angeles, California, which was the booking agent for the subject's appearance, was also paid $350 by check from the University. The subject was also paid an airplane ticket in the amount of $210 for his speaking appearance.

The source stated that there were no known expenses that the subject had to pay out inasmuch as the University furnished the auditorium and the cleaning services after its use.

On April 30, 1969, [redacted] Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington, advised that the subject spoke in the Student Union Building of Gonzaga University on April 29, 1969, under the auspices of the Associated Students of Gonzaga University which organization paid the subject $600 to make the speech. b6 b7C

NY T-11 advised on September 3, 1969, that the subject received $750 for a public appearance at the North Dakota State University, Fargo, North Dakota, on April 30, 1969.

On June 27, 1969, NY T-8 advised [redacted] b7D

[redacted]

The source also advised that [redacted] b7D

[redacted]

Abbott Howard Hoffman

On August 4, 1969, NY T-8 advised [redacted] b7D

On September 3, 1969, NY T-8 advised [redacted] b7D

[redacted] who b6 b7C b7D
was affiliated with various New Left organizations from 1967 to October, 1969, advised on August 28, 1969, that [redacted] stated on [redacted] that as of that time the subject had made approximately $15,000 from his book, "Revolution for the Hell of It."

The source stated that [redacted] commented that the b6 b7C subject was making approximately $25,000 per year.

NY T-12 advised [redacted] b7D

The source continued that [redacted] b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Abbott Howard Hoffman

Information attributed to NY T-12 in this memorandum is not to be made public without the usual proceedings following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum, directed to [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

In addition, NY T-12 no longer has custody of the basic documents from which check information in this memorandum was obtained.

[redacted] Hartford, Connecticut, advised b6 b7C on October 2, 1969, that the subject received $750 for an appearance as a speaker at the University of Hartford, Hartford, Connecticut, on September 17, 1969.

NY T-13 advised on October 3, 1969, that the Cultural Committee at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, Catonsville, Maryland, which organization had booked the subject and [redacted] b6 b7C for speaking appearances at the University on September 19, 1969, had allotted $600 for their appearances.

The source stated, however, that he did not know how much money was actually expended for the subject's and [redacted] appearance at the University on September 19, 1969. b6 b7C

NY T-8 advised [redacted] b7D

On October 14, 1969, [redacted], Kalamazoo, Michigan, advised that a fee of $1,000 was being paid to the subject for a speaking appearance at the University on October 14, 1969, and that this sum was to be paid out of the University's Student Association funds. b6 b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Abbott Howard Hoffman

On October 27, 1969, [redacted] b6 b7C Worcester, Massachusetts, advised that the subject spoke briefly to an audience of approximately 125 persons at Atwood Hall Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, on October 26, 1969.

[redacted] b6 b7C stated that those in attendance were requested to donate $1.00 each but was unable to provide any information concerning any money paid to the subject for his appearance.

NY T-14 advised during October, 1969, that the subject spoke at Lowell Lecture Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, on October 26, 1969.

The source stated an admission charge of $1.50 was made and 1,200 persons attended the speech.

The source stated a collection was taken up to aid the subject's defense fund and that approximately $200 was collected.

The source stated a portion of the admission charge would also be awarded to the subject as he was the principal speaker but was unable to provide information as to the exact amount which would be paid to the subject.

NY T-15 advised on December 8, 1969, that the subject was paid the sum of $265 plus transportation for an appearance at Wisconsin State University, Superior, Wisconsin, on December 5, 1969, by the Business Office of the university drawn on the Program Board account.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-02-2012

2/19/70

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449923)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161445) (P)

SUBJECT: ABBOTT HOWARD HOFFMAN, aka
SM-ANA
(KEY ACTIVIST)
(OO:NY)

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP-5 m 2/18/90
REASON FOR EXTENSION FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 2/19/90
RJG/KDA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

ReBu airtel, 5/7/69; NY airtels to Bureau, 5/13/69, 7/18/69 and 9/26/69; NYlet to Bureau, 9/4/69; BSlets to NY, 8/25/69 and 11/5/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 13 copies of an LHM concerning funds received by the subject during 1969.

For the information of the Bureau, all leads set out to various offices regarding the subject's finances in reNYairtels and letter have been covered and all pertinent information is included in enclosed LHM.

The following sources were utilized in the LHM:

4-Bureau (Encs. 13) (RM)
(1-100-449698) (COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT)
(1-100-446997) (Sub 70) (NEW LEFT MOVEMENT-FINANCES)
1-New York (100-163303) (COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT) (42)
1-New York (100-165006) (FINANCES-NEW LEFT) (42)
1-New York

100-163303-283

HEN:ihr
(8)

1-Supervisor #42

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____

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Source	Identity
NY T-1	[redacted] (Former) (U)
NY T-2	[redacted] NY (by request)
NY T-3	[redacted] NYC (by request)
NY T-4	[redacted] NY (by request)
NY T-5	[redacted]
NY T-6	[redacted] (by request)
NY T-7	[redacted] (by request)
NY T-8	[redacted] NYC (by request)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Source (Cont'd)	Identity
NY T-9	[redacted] (by request)
NY t-10	[redacted] (by request)
NY T-11	[redacted] (by request)
NY T-12	[redacted]
NY T-13	[redacted] (by request)
NY T-14	[redacted]
NY T-15	[redacted] (by request)

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The enclosed LHM has been classified, ~~"Confidential"~~ since it contains information from NY T-5 and NY T-14, which if disclosed, could result in the identification of these sources of continuing value and impair their future effectiveness. Such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Counterintelligence Recommendation

In view of the information set forth in the enclosed LHM regarding remunerations subject has received during the year 1969, in connection with public appearances, advances on his books and from the Realist Association, Inc., it is recommended that copies of this LHM be furnished to the Internal Revenue Service for their assistance concerning any investigation being conducted by that agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-02-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New Orleans, Louisiana
February 27, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB)

Characterizations of persons mentioned herein, when available, appear in the appendix.

On February 25, 1970, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished a copy of an article entitled "U. S. YOUTHS BACK FROM CUBA LABOR," [redacted] which appeared in the February 13, 1970, issue of Newsday, believed to be a Long Island newspaper. That article is as follows: b6 b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

~~GROUP I~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
MAR 4 1970
FBI—NEW YORK

100-163303-284

U.S. Youths Back From Cuba Labor

By Michael Cope
Newsday Special Correspondent

St. John, N.B.—Chanting "Cuba si, Yanqui no" and singing Communist revolutionary songs, 200 young Americans returned yesterday after three months of cutting sugar cane in Communist Cuba.

As they marched defiantly off the Cuban cattle freighter Luis Arcos Bernes here, a Canadian Mountie in the tight police security guard, muttered "God, it makes you sick."

But even before the chartered buses carrying them home reached the border crossing of St. Stephen, N.B., another 500 Americans had boarded the Communist frieghter to go to Cuba. The returning Americans, tanned and fit beneath their beards and long, matted hair, were from all parts of the U.S. They call themselves "Venceremos Brigade" after the Cuban revolutionary slogan, "We Will Win."

Garry Simon, a bearded, 20-year-old Negro from New Orleans, one of the first to walk off the freighter, said, "It was beautiful, fantastic. It was the best experience of my life. I really appreciated their (Communist) system of government in Cuba." He was one of the few students who would identify themselves. Dozens more, both coming from and going to Cuba, said that they feared reprisals when they got home.

Simon said that he spent seven hours on Christmas Day cutting cane with Fidel Castro. "A tremendous guy, a good speaker with a really good mind. We all liked him a lot." Of the Cuban people, he said, "Very friendly and patriotic. When the national anthem is played there, they stand up. Not like it is in the United States."

Canadian customs officers spent three hours going through the returning cane workers' luggage. Helping them sift through the mountain of brown-paper parcels and canvas grips that the Americans carried off the ship were narcotics agents of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Aboard the Luis Arcos Bernes, a Communist photographer shot three rolls of film of the security guard and customs officers.

There was an angry scene earlier when a reporter tried to board one of the 11 buses at St. John that had carried the Cuba-bound volunteers from Long Island and New York City. He was pushed off the bus and one bearded volunteer told him, "We have been instructed by our committee (of the Students for a Democratic Society) not to say anything. If you want any information you will have to ask our committee at Stony Brook."

A spokesman for the Stony Brook chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society said that no such committee exists at the university.

The volunteers said that FBI agents had followed their buses to the Canadian border and that once they had crossed the border, unmarked Royal Canadian Mounted Police cars took over the tailing. The FBI declined to comment.

Students on other buses talked freely, although none would give his name. A 19-year-old youth from the Philadelphia suburb of Merion, said that he had volunteered to go to Cuba after reading an advertisement in a Philadelphia underground newspaper. "I certainly don't believe it will be utopia," he said. "But neither is the United States, where the system is based on the exploitation of man by man. This is basically what gripes me about the whole set up."

In Ottawa, Canadian officials were worried that America's rebellious youth were using a Canadian port as a terminal for their shabby, cattle-boat underground route to Communist Cuba. "But at this time as much as we may not like it, there isn't a damned thing we can do about it," one official said.

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB)

On February 25, 1970, [redacted] b6 b7C telephonically advised that an unknown person somewhere in the Gulf South area, presumably in New Orleans, had that day confirmed reservations for [redacted] on EAL Flight 905, New Orleans to Mexico City, on February 27, 1970. [redacted] still had a ticket paid for, but had not been booked on any flight.

On February 26, 1970, a second confidential source, b6 b7C b7D who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted], and presumably would not go to Cuba.

On February 27, 1970, [redacted], advised that he had just b6 b7C learned that all but one person of the party in Atlanta, whose reservations on EAL Flight 905, February 27, 1970, had been made by Sky Jet Travel in New York, had cancelled those reservations.

[redacted] furnished a copy of the passenger manifest b6 b7C and other associated travel papers for EAL Flight 905, which left New Orleans for Mexico City at 12:25 noon on February 27, 1970. Persons identified therein as having their reservations made by Marko Sky Jet Travel, New York, are as follows:

[redacted] Boarded at [redacted] United States citizenship

b6 b7C

[redacted] Boarded at [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB)

[redacted] [redacted] b6 b7C

On February 27, 1970, the second confidential source advised that [redacted] (First Name Unknown) [redacted] and (First Name Unknown) [redacted] boarded EAL Flight 905 in New Orleans at 12:15 PM on February 27, 1970. b6 b7C b7D

The second confidential source further advised that, although tickets were available for [redacted], these persons did not even show up at the airport. b6 b7C

The second confidential source understands that the above passengers on EAL Flight 905 will stay in Mexico City overnight on February 27, 1970, and will fly to Cuba on February 28, 1970.

On February 27, 1970, [redacted] advised that [redacted] assumed [redacted] would return. b6 b7C b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

The following is a summary of brief characterizations of persons mentioned above.

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] has been identified as participating in Republic of New Africa (RNA) activities and has stated that [redacted].

[redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C active in [redacted] as a [redacted] has been a [redacted] of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) chapter at [redacted]. He has also shown a moderate interest in the RNA.

[redacted]

[redacted] has been identified as having joined the RNA b6 b7C and as having [redacted] in the Spring of 1969. [redacted]s

[redacted]

[redacted] is identified as having been [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] has been identified as [redacted] in the RNA. He is known to [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] has been identified as a [redacted] of the b6 b7C Black Liberation Army (BLA) of the RNA and has shown interest in firearms.

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB)

[redacted] has been identified as having shown an interest in [redacted] Communist Party (CP) youth club in 1967, and between [redacted] and [redacted], as having associated with [redacted]. b6 b7C

[redacted] has been identified as [redacted] of the BLA of the RNA and other black nationalist organizations. b6 b7C [redacted] He has owned and carried firearms.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

1

NEW ORLEANS MOVEMENT FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (NOMDS)

A confidential source advised on February 3, 1966, that a group which identified itself as the New Orleans Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NOCEWV), planned to hold a demonstration to protest United States policy in Vietnam during February, 1966, in New Orleans, Louisiana. A party was also planned during February for the purpose of forming a permanent "peace group" which would be known as the NOCEWV.

The July, 1966, edition of "The New Orleans Freedom Press," self-described publication of the NOCEWV, indicated that the NOCEWV had been reorganized.

A second confidential source advised on March 16, 1967, that during a meeting of the NOCEWV on March 12, 1967, its name was changed to the New Orleans Movement for a Democratic Society (NOMDS), and a constitution was adopted.

A third confidential source advised on November 6, 1967, that at an NOMDS meeting held November 5, 1967, it was announced that the NOMDS had been accepted as a local chapter of the National Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

A fourth confidential source advised on May 24, 1968, that the NOMDS continues to hold meetings and participate in activities which follow the National SDS line.

A fifth confidential source advised on February 17, 1969, that the NOMDS is a front group for the New Orleans Progressive Labor Party (PLP). The source added that National PLP recently ordered PLP members in New Orleans to go to the East and West coasts of the United States for further training; however, [redacted] and several followers have refused to leave New Orleans. The source stated that during the school year 1968-69, the main project was organizing SDS in New Orleans high schools.

b6
b7C

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A P P E N D I X

1 REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

A source has advised that the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is an all-Negro organization founded in Detroit, Michigan, in March, 1968. [redacted] who was then residing in [redacted] was named as its [redacted]. [redacted] fled the United States in [redacted] following [redacted] published and broadcast hate-type material in Cuba and China prior to his return to the United States in September, 1969.

b6
b7C

A second source has advised that the purpose of the RNA is to establish an independent black nation within the United States, demanding the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina in addition to $10,000 per black citizen as payment for 400 years of ancestral slave labor.

A third source advised on March 14, 1969, that an army of the RNA, known as the Black Legion, dedicated to black freedom and committed to the concept of systematic armed revolution, has been established. Black Legion members are expected to participate in military training and engage in firearms practice. The RNA plans to establish an underground Black Legion in addition to an aboveground Black Legion in order to avoid detection by the police.

According to this source, Black Legion members acting as bodyguards at a session of the Second National Convention of the RNA in Detroit, Michigan, on March 29, 1969, were involved in a shoot-out with members of the Detroit Police Department which resulted in the killing of one policeman and the critical wounding of another.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A source has advised that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as presently regarded, came into being at a founding convention held June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy" the line of the national leadership has revealed a growing Marxist-Leninist adherence which currently calls for the building of a revolutionary youth movement. Concurrently, the program of SDS has evolved from civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war stance to an advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist position. China, Vietnam and Cuba are regarded as the leaders of the worldwide struggles against United States imperialism, whereas the Soviet Union is held to be revisionist and also imperialist.

At the June, 1969, SDS National Convention, Progressive Labor Party (PLP) forces in the organization were expelled. As a result, the National Office (NO) group maintained its National Headquarters at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, and the PLP faction set up headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This headquarters subsequently moved to Boston. Each group elected its own national officers, which include three national secretaries and a National Interim Committee of eight. Both the NO forces and the PLP forces claim to be the true SDS. Both groups also print their versions of "New Left Notes" which sets forth the line and the program of the particular faction. The NO version of "New Left Notes" was recently printed under the title "The Fire Next Time" to achieve a broader mass appeal.

Two major factions have developed internally within the NO group, namely, the Weatherman or Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) I faction, and the RYM II faction. Weatherman is action-oriented upholding Castro's position that the duty of revolutionaries is to make revolution. Weatherman

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

is regarding by RYM II as an adventuristic, elitist faction which denies the historical role of the working class as the base for revolution. RYM II maintains that revolution, although desired, is not possible under present conditions, hence emphasizes organizing and raising the political consciousness of the working class upon whom they feel successful revolution depends. Although disclaiming control and domination by the Communist Party, USA, leaders in these two factions have in the past proclaimed themselves to be communists and to follow the precepts of a Marxist-Leninist philosophy, along pro-Chinese communist lines.

A second source has advised that the PLP faction which is more commonly known as the Worker Student Alliance is dominated and controlled by members of the PLP, who are required to identify themselves with the pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist philosophy of the PLP. They advocate that an alliance between workers and students is vital to the bringing about of a revolution in the United States.

SDS regions and university and college chapters, although operating under the outlines of the SDS National Constitution, are autonomous in nature and free to carry out independent policy reflective of local conditions. Because of this autonomy internal struggles reflecting the major factional interests of SDS have occurred at the chapter level since the beginning of the 1969-70 school year.

A characterization of PLP is attached.

APPENDIX

1

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

"The New York Times" city edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement. b6 b7C

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by Milton Rosen and Mortimer Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31, to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism. This is to be accomplished through the Party's over-all revolutionary strategy of raising the consciousness of the people and helping to provide ideological leadership in the working class struggle for state power.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention [redacted] was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and [redacted] were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine; "World Revolution," a quarterly periodical; and "Challenge-Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

The April, 1969, issue of "Challenge-Desafio" sets forth that "Challenge is dedicated to the peoples fight for a new way of life--where the working men and women control their own homes and factories; where they themselves make up the entire government on every level and control the schools, courts, police and all institutions which are now used to control them."

A P P E N D I X

2

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

Source advised on May 8, 1969, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 2/27/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-195696)

FROM: SAC, NEW ORLEANS (100-18422) (P)

SUBJECT: VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (VB)
IS - ANA
NEW LEFT - FOREIGN INFLUENCE
(OO: NEW YORK)

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten (10) copies of an LHM. Enclosed for all other receiving offices are appropriate copies, for designated files, of same LHM.

Also enclosed for Atlanta, New York and San Juan is one copy each of Eastern Airlines (EAL) Flight 905, 2/27/70, manifest.

3 - Bureau (2: 105-195696 (Encs. 10) (RM)
1: Legat, Mexico City)
2 - Atlanta (1: 105-4260 (VB) (Encs. 3) (info) (RM)
1: 100- [redacted])
1 - New Haven (100-19849) ([redacted]) (Enc. 1) (info) (RM)
4 - New York (2: 100-166943 (VB) (Encs. 5) (RM)
1: 100- [redacted]
1: 100- (COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT)) 100-163303-176
1 - San Juan (Encs. 2) (info) (RM)
2 - WFO (Encs. 2) (RM)
14 - New Orleans (2: 100-18422 (VB)
1: [redacted]
1: [redacted]
1: 100-17858 (COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT)
1: 157-12647
1: 157-11552
1: 157-12102
1: 157-11543
1: 157-12017
1: 100-17650
1: 157-11862
1: 100-18548
1: 157-18495

b6
b7C
b7D

CHA:ehs
(27)

100-163303-285

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
MAR

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

The LHM is classified ~~"CONFIDENTIAL"~~ to protect the informants, compromise of whom would be prejudicial to the interest of internal security.

The first confidential source referred to in the LHM is [redacted] The second confidential source is [redacted] (PROB). b7D

Special Agents of the FBI referred to in the LHM are [redacted] and [redacted]. b6 b7C

Note that photographs of persons boarding EAL Flight 905 were taken by SA [redacted] and [redacted] (PROB). New Haven and New York will be furnished photos of [redacted] and [redacted] by routing slip, when available. b6 b7C b7D

New Orleans indices are negative on [redacted] New Orleans presumes he is identical with [redacted], mentioned on page 37 of New York report of SA [redacted] dated 2/13/70. New Orleans is proceeding to identify and characterize [redacted]. b6 b7C

LEADS

New Haven is addressed for information, being office of origin in [redacted] case. b6 b7C

San Juan is addressed for information to confirm that no other previously reported passenger joined EAL 905 on 2/27/70, from San Juan. See enclosed manifest.

Atlanta is addressed for information for both the VB and [redacted] files. b6 b7C

WFO note the not previously furnished passport numbers of the following individuals; for whom leads have been previously set out to have their passport applications reviewed:

[redacted] b6 b7C

LEADS (cont'd)

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Advise New Orleans if VB letterhead has been received. New Orleans is contemplating counterintelligence measure, fabricating letters to persons in New Orleans who did not go to Cuba but for whom reservations had been made by [redacted]. These letters would be signed with a facsimile of [redacted] signature and would demand that the dollar amount of the unused plane tickets be refunded to [redacted] Advise New Orleans as to practicality of such a counterintelligence measure. b6 b7C

MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-446761) DATE: 3/30/70

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-158591)

SUBJECT: STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM (SMC)
IS-SWP
(OO:WFO)

ReWFOlet to the Bureau captioned as above and dated 3/11/70, requesting the comments and the suggestions of the NYO with respect to a proposed counterintelligence program to take advantage of a current split within the SMC.

With regard to WFO counterintelligence technique on sending a letter on SMC stationary to SMC campus leaders throughout the country, designed to widen the split between the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and non-YSA membership in the SMC, the NYO believes that such a plan might be effective. However, the NYO feels that the use of "genuine" SMC stationary tends to evidence a "professionalism" which might not generally be considered desirable. The NYO suggests that a "News Letter" written on low cost paper in the language or jargon of the "New Left" is much more effective and would tend to lessen any thought of possible origin of such correspondence to the Bureau.

The NYO has been attacking the problem through counterintelligence action directed primarily at the New Mobilization Committee (NMC) and the Socialist Workers Party

4-Bureau (RM)
(2-100-227226) (WSA)
3-Washington Field (100-46183) (Enc. 2) (RM)
(1-100-35189) (WSA)
(1-100-47757) (COINTELPRO)
1-New York (100-133429) (WSA) (41)
1-New York (100-163303) (COINTELPRO)
1-New York

EKD:ihr
(10)

100-163303-287

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
MAR 30 1970

b6
b7C

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108

(SWP). Enclosed for the information of the WFO is a copy of a leaflet entitled, "Fly United?" which has been sent out to more than 300 individuals and organizations active in the new left and associated with the NMC and/or the SMC in particular. As may be seen this leaflet was designed to widen the split mentioned in reWFOlet. As a matter of interest information was subsequent received by the NYO that the origin of this item was attributed by several individuals in the new left to dissident elements in the NMC.

A recent counterintelligence action on the part of the NYO was in the form of a memorandum to the NMC National Steering Committee which was sent anonymously to more than 70 NMC and SMC officials or members. The contents of this leaflet also attacked the TROTSKYITE influence within the NMC. For the information of WFO a copy of the two aforementioned items for which prior Bureau authority had been received before any utilization was made of them, is being enclosed herewith.

WFO may wish to consider the mailing of the leaflet "Fly United?" or a similar item as part of its current program. If WFO decides to utilize such an item, the NYO will assist in any way possible relative to its preparation or distribution should that be deemed appropriate or desirable.

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Cops Called to Columbia Campus After Rock Rampage

By MEL GREENE and HARRY STATHOS

A chanting, shouting crowd of about 200 persons smashed windows and threw stink bombs at Columbia University last night after a campus rally in which students vowed to strike the university until it provided bail money for 11 jailed Black Panthers.

(Columbia's Acting President Andrew Cordier asked police to come on to the campus and 50 tactical patrol policemen entered the university's grounds at 11:40 p.m. for the first time since the disturbances of April and May 1968.

200 Police on Perimeter

Another 200 helmeted policemen stood by on the outer perimeter of the campus as the tactical patrol cops guarded Butler Library and Ferris Booth Hall, a student center, which were heavily damaged in the rock-throwing spree by the demonstrators, many of whom do not attend Columbia.

Three policemen standing in front of the student center were injured slightly by thrown rocks. There were no immediate arrests and the campus was quiet by midnight as the demonstrators dispersed along Broadway.

It was the second violent outburst on the campus in two months by pro-Panther demonstrators. Several hundred young radical students rampaged through the campus last March

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

p.5 Daily News

Date: 4/16/70
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

b6
b7C

Final

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

292
100-163303

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
APR 17 1970
FBI — NEW YORK

13, smashing windows with rocks and shouting slogans to protest the university senate's rejection of demands for bail money for the jailed Panthers.

Booted From Barnard

Last night's violence apparently was triggered by a speech by Patty Titchener, 20, leader of the December 4 Movement at Columbia, who told the crowd: "I'm not allowed to give seditious speeches. You've gotta tell me what you are going to do."

Miss Titchener was expelled from Barnard College last semester. She and five other leaders of the December 4 movement—named for the day that Black Panther Fred Hampton was slain in Chicago—are scheduled to appear in court with her Monday for their activities in previous demonstrations.

After her speech before about 500 persons—many of whom had demonstrated at war protests earlier in the day—about 200 broke away from the Sundial rally and smashed windows at Hamilton Hall, the first building occupied during the Columbia crisis in 1968, threw cans of red paint and hurled stink bombs.

Less than an hour after the Columbia action, some 200 students staged a sit-in in the library-administration building of the State University in Stony Brook, L.I., demanding an end to war-related research on campus.

A group of black and Puerto Rican students seized an administration building at Wagner College on Staten Island last night to press for a list of demands. Between 70 and 100 students occupied and barricaded Cunard Hall, a three-story building housing the registrar's office, and vowed to remain until their demands for an increased black and Puerto Rican presence at the Lutheran-affiliated private college were met.

SAC, Memphis (100-4704) 4/30/70

Director, FBI (100-449698)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT 100-163303-176* 2/69

Reurlet 3/23/70.

For your information, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) has a definite interest in those organizations which may be conducting activities in violation of their tax exempt status. A special section has been organized within that agency to investigate these types of violations.

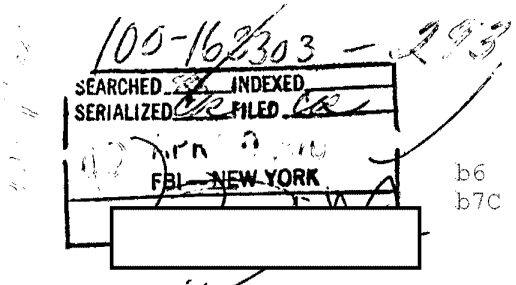
Information of such a nature developed by your office should be prepared in a form suitable for dissemination and forwarded to the Bureau to be furnished IRS.

The possibility of such violations existing should be considered during the course of the investigation of any New Left or subversive organization.

In this regard, you should review SAC Letter 69-45 dated 8/26/69, and Bulet dated 11/10/69, and Buairtel dated 3/16/70, captioned "New Left Movement - Finance," all of which deal with varying aspects of your inquiry.

For your additional information, the Liaison Section of the Domestic Intelligence Division is discussing this matter with IRS and any new information developed concerning that agency's needs in regard to the type of information needed will be furnished to your office.

1 - New York



b6
b7C

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 5/18/70

SAC, NEW YORK (100-163303) (P)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reference is made to New York letter dated 4/21/70, and Bulet dated 5/1/70.

Enclosed are two copies of a suggested leaflet designed to ridicule the Venceremos Brigade (NY 100-166943), the GAY LIBERATION FRONT (NY 100-167120), DAVID TYRE DELLINGER (NY 100-121672) and the New Left movement in general.

By way of background - re suggested leaflet - on 5/5/70, [redacted] b7D advised that on 5/2/70, at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, a member of the Vebceremos Brigade stated that members of the Gay Liberation Front wanted to form their own unit inside the next brigade. He pointed out that various "gay" members of the first two brigades didn't like the attitude of some Cuban officals who had stated that homosexuals did not make good communists.

Bureau authority is requested for New York to prepare this leaflet (in telegraphic form as shown) and mail anonymously to selected individuals in the New Left movement with particular emphasis on members of the Venceremos Brigade.

2 - Bureau (RM) (Encl. 2)
1 - New York

BPM:bpm
(3)

Chief Clerk
Post

File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, pg 56 (RR)

Western Union

Telegram

NO. WDS.–CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	☐ OVER NIGHT TELEGRAM UNLESS BOX ABOVE IS CHECKED THIS MESSAGE WILL BE SENT AS A TELEGRAM

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

19

TO DAVID DELLINGER

CARE OF OR APT. NO.

STREET & NO. 339 Lafayette Street,

TELEPHONE

CITY & STATE New York, N. Y.

ZIP CODE

WE OF THE HOMOSEXUAL COMMUNITY WELCOME YOUR SUPPORT OF OUR FIGHT FOR EQUAL RIGHTS IN THE NEXT VENCEREMOS BRIGADE THIS SUMMER. STOP. IT IS GRATIFYING THAT A WORKER FOR PEACE OF YOUR STATURE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD REVOLUTION THAT CAN AND WILL BE MADE BY GAY LIBERATION. DESPITE COMMENTS BY CUBAN OFFICIALS THAT QUOTE FAGS UNQUOTE DO NOT MAKE GOOD COMMUNISTS, WE INTEND TO SHOW THEM OUR REAL POSITION THIS SUMMER.

PEACE

SENDER'S TEL. NO.

NAME & ADDRESS

WU 1207 (R 5-69)

100-163303-295

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 6/30/70

SAC, NEW YORK (100-163303) (P)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Reference is made to New York letter dated 3/31/70.

1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

New York is preparing a leaflet designed to cause general disruption in various New Left organizations and to ridicule their leaders.

Above leaflet will be submitted to the Bureau for approval when the layout is completed.

2. Pending Counterintelligence Action

By letter dated 6/1/70, Bureau authority was received for New York to prepare and mail anonymously a leaflet in "telegraph form", designed to ridicule the VENCEREMOS BRIGADE (NY 100-166943), the GAY LIBERATION FRONT (NY 100-167120) and DAVID TYRE DELLINGER (NY 100-121672).

During the period 6/16-17/70, 145 copies of the above leaflet was mailed to selected individuals and organizations in the New Left movement.

3. Tangible Results

No tangible results under this program were noted during the period subsequent to 3/31/70.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York

EPM:bpm
(3)

Chief Clerk
Post fwk 42
6/30/70

PAGE SIX

SECOND SOURCE, MENTIONED ABOVE, ADVISED THIS DATE THAT LESS THAN TEN INDIVIDUALS, INCLUDING [redacted] MET AT SEVEN HUNDRED COMMONWEALTH AVENUE THIS DATE; HOWEVER, WERE UNABLE TO ATTRACT THE NEWS MEDIA AND THUS NO PRESS CONFERENCE WAS HELD. b6 b7C

ONE ZERO EIGHTH MI GROUP AND NISO, BOSTON, AND OSI, WESTOVER AFB, MASSACHUSETTS, COGNIZANT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]; BS ONE TWO FIVE NINE-S; [redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C b7D

BOSTON RECOMMENDS AT THIS TIME THAT THE BUREAU GIVE CONSIDERATION TO CONTACTION A HIGH LEVEL SOURCE WITHIN THE CBS CORPORATION IN ORDER TO FURNISH HIM INFORMATION RELATIVE TO [redacted] AND HIS SYMPATHIES, ETC., TOWARDS THE SDS FACTION AT BOSTON. b6 b7C

END PAGE SIX

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-163303) DATE: 9/14/70

FROM : SA [redacted] (42) b6 b7C

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

By routing slip dated 8/27/70, from the Bureau, a publication classified ~~"Secret"~~ and entitled "COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE RESEARCH PROJECT", published by the United States Army, was received by the NYO for possible use under captioned program.

Above publication is being placed in NY 100-163303-1B1(1).

No further action necessary at this time.

Add 1B1 (1)

100-163303-510

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
SEP 1 1 1970
FBI — NEW YORK

5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 9/24/70

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

FROM: SAC, CINCINNATI (100-17601) (R) Counter Intelligence Program

SUBJECT: CONTELPRO - NEW LEFT

100-163303 5/6

The following counterintelligence measure is being set forth for consideration by the Bureau and deals with attempting to locate Weathermen fugitives through the examination of recently opened Post Office Boxes in main Post Office Buildings in cities where Weathermen have been known to operate.

Cincinnati has been considering a possible method of penetrating the Weathermen fugitives communication network based on the idea that the Weathermen are operating as best they are able as an espionage group utilizing the well known espionage techniques of mail drops, dead drops, secret writings, and telephone codes.

It would seem that the fugitives would consider the use of Post Office Boxes obtained for them by sympathizers or obtained by themselves using fraudulent identification.

It was learned that at Cincinnati a person desiring to rent a Post Office Box must appear at the Post Office and fill out an application. The

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Chicago (RM)
2-Detroit (RM)
2-San Francisco (RM)
2-New York (RM)
2-Cincinnati (1-100-17601)
(1-100-14444)(SDS)

100-163303

[redacted] b6 b7C

9/27/70

TPS/msw
(12)

No interest 9/28/70

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

AD

application shows the date, the name of the renter, his address, and the name of any other person who would receive mail in the box. The renter must display some type of identification such as, a driver's license. The renter is instructed to return in 48 hours to pay for his box, to learn he number of his box, and to pick up his keys. During the 48 hour period, the renter's address is supposed to be verified.

After the renter has been given the Post Office Box number and his keys and a receipt for payment, the Post Office has no other control of who has access to the box. The renter may give his key to anyone to clear the box without any knowledge of the Post Office.

Post Office Boxes in the main office at Cincinnati are available to be cleared 24 hours a day and mail is put in the boxes on a 24 hour basis.

On 9/24/70, [redacted] b6 b7C United States Post Office, Cincinnati, Ohio, was contacted relative to the system of handling Post Office Boxes at Cincinnati.

[redacted] was fully cooperative and was presented a hypothetical situation in which informaion had been received that a badly wanted terrorist type fugitive had rented a Post Office Box in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area under an alias sometime during the previous six months, but the Post Office Box number was not known and the fugitive was known to have changed his appearance. [redacted] b6 b7C was asked if there would be anyway through Post Office records to identify all those persons who had rented Post Office Boxes in Cincinnati during the past six months by name and address so that checks could be made to possibly identify the fugitive,

obtain his Post Office Box number, and effect his apprehension when he shows up to clear the box.

[redacted] advised initially it would not be difficult for anyone to obtain a Post Office Box at Cincinnati under a false name and address, because in actual practice the verification of the renter's address does not involve independent inquiry or investigation. He also advised an individual could obtain temporary housing and use that address to obtain a box, vacate the address shortly thereafter, and the Post Office would have no knowledge of this move. b6 b7C

[redacted] advised no list is maintained by the Post Office showing renters of Post Office Boxes in branch offices which have boxes, and no list is maintained for the Cincinnati Post Office which would show the identification of persons renting boxes within the past six months. [redacted] advised the regular Post Office system for handling boxes may vary somewhat in different cities, but generally, as in Cincinnati, two separate files relating to boxes are maintained. One section contains cards showing what boxes are available for rent. The other section contains cards of rented boxes in numerical order. When a box is rented, the card from the available box section is filled out with the information on the application and put in the rented box section in numerical order. b6 b7C

[redacted] stated the application for the box is maintained with the card. He advised the Post Office retains a copy of the receipt for payment for the box, but the receipt would not show whether the box was newly rented or whether it was a renewal payment on a previously rented box. b6 b7C

[redacted] felt the only possible method of identifying all those persons who had rented Post Office Boxes from a certain date in the past would be to physically check each card in the rented section and observe the date when the box was first rented. [redacted] stated in the main Post Office at Cincinnati this method would entail the physical examination of about 600 cards. He said that in a city like Akron, Ohio, it would require checking about 1,000 cards. b6 b7C

[redacted] advised he felt that due to the widespread threats of bombings and actual bombings of Federal buildings throughout the U.S. today that the Chief Post Office Inspector in Washington, D.C., would cooperate in any logical method to help remove from society any potential bombers through the use of Post Office records. b6 b7C

Cincinnati estimates it would take one agent about three days to check the 600 Cincinnati Post Office Box Cards since observation of the area where the cards are located shows that only one person could work at a time. The physical checking of the cards should probably be done during the evening hours when the Post Office Box area is closed.

Cincinnati has considered the potential of checking all Post Office Box Cards on boxes opened since the Weathermen became fugitives and obtain the identifying information appearing on these cards. The names could be checked through indices to deermine if the person has had any previous New Left Movement activities or sympathizes with the Weathermen or other extremist type organizations. Those names of persons not identified in indices could be checked through public sources

to establish bona fides. Further investigation could be conducted on those persons not otherwise eliminated to determine if they are legitimate or if the box is possibly being used as a mail drop by Weathermen fugitives.

Bureau is requested to consider this proposed counterintelligence measure and, if deemed to have potential, authorize receiving offices to make a similar survey to determine if the system of handling Post Office Boxes in main offices in their respective cities is similar to that in Cincinnati, and to obtain an estimate of agent hours required to physically check each box of cards.

Cincinnati will take no further action on this proposal unless advised by the Bureau and receiving offices should likewise take no action unless advised to do so by the Bureau.

Dear Sir:

For the first time in my life, the nauseating actions of a fellow human being - with the possible exception of Adolph Hitler - has filled me with such disgust and revulsion that I'm compelled to turn the public spot light on this swine and give him over to the judgement of his peers. I bring to your attention [redacted] at [redacted] College, [redacted]. He would be better labeled Doctor of Perversion by any stretch of the imagination! b6 b7C

I do not make such charges lightly. Nor, do I ask your acceptance sans proof. I have been - for some years, now - a political activist in the academic community, working for peace and the universal brotherhood of man. I am a veteran of all the major marches for peace and for a time was philosophically attracted to the Maoist tenets of the Progressive Labor Party, usually called "PL". It was during my association with PL that I met Dr. Steiner in New York City.

There recently came into my possession a remarkable document prepared by the National Steering Committee of PL entitled "A Report To The Party From The NSC On Inter Party Struggle", which concerned racial and political dichotomy within the party leading to the expulsion of various long-time party members from active membership, including the good [redacted] and [redacted], [redacted]. b6 b7C

A portion of the above report is attached which is appropriately captioned "A Number of Tales Which All Lead To The Toilet Bowl". Page 3 is the start of the sordid Steiner epic. You may wish to know that the [redacted] mentioned in the report is [redacted] b6 b7C

I leave it to you. Does a bastard who had sexual incourse with his [redacted] step daughter over a period of three years have any place on the [redacted] campus? Think about it! Whose children shall this maniac teach? YOURS? MINE? b6 b7C

Right On!

[redacted] Ok

[redacted] Ok

100-163303-312

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439539) 9/29/70

SAC, NEW YORK (100-164524) (P)

[redacted] b6 b7C

SM - PLP
(00:NY)

Reference is made to Bulet 8/14/70.

Enclosed herewith is one copy of a proposed letter with attachment designed to bring subject's reported sexual liaison with his wife's [redacted]-year-old daughter to the attention of officials at [redacted] as well as officals of the [redacted] Department of Higher Education. b6 b7C

It is also believed that the enclosed letter and PLP attachment (actually part of a report prepared by the National Steering Committee of the PLP on inter-party struggle), could lead to further factionalism within the PLP since the unidentified writer could well be a current PLP member and/or offical determined to cause subject and his wife professional difficulty.

Bureau authority is requested for New York to prepare enclosed letter and attachment and mail anonymously to officals at [redacted] and to the [redacted] b6 b7C

3 - Bureau (RM) (Encl. 2)
(1-100-454878 [redacted])
1 - NY 100-163303 (COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT) (42)
1 - NY 100-165052 [redacted] (42)
1 - NY

b6 b7C

BPM:bpm
(6)

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
SEP 29 1970
FBI — NEW YORK

0-9 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date: 9/9/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via Airtel _____
(Priority)

To: SACs, Baltimore (Encls.-25) Milwaukee (Encls.-25)
Boston (") Newark (")
Chicago (") New Haven (")
Cincinnati (") New York (")
Cleveland (") Philadelphia (")
Dallas (") Pittsburgh (")
Detroit (") Portland (")
Indianapolis (") San Francisco (")
Los Angeles (") Seattle (")
Miami (") Washington Field (")

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) (100-449698)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT
SECURITY MATTER

Enclosed for recipient offices are 25 copies each of article which originally appeared in 8/14/70 issue of "The New York Times."

Article highlights fear of Jews to anti-Zionism of New Left and Black Panther Party (BPP). This fear is reportedly based on increasing concern that claim of both that their anti-Zionism represents only hostility to Israel as imperialistic partner of this country, is but terrifying sham for actual, abusive, hateful anti-Semitism. Article documents instances

316

22 sent 16/12/70 week W

pig in 16/14/70

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
SEP 10 1970
FBI—NEW YORK

b6
b7C

Sent Via _____

in radical publications and presents other material which attests to this concern and thus, indirectly applies embarrassing anti-Semitic stigma to many organizations of radical New Left and BPP.

To capitalize on same from counterintelligence aspect, article content was prepared in enclosed pamphlet format for anonymous mailing to selected individuals or organizations within areas where full impact of anti-Semitism on part of New Left and Black Panthers can be made. Handle same accordingly. Insure mailing cannot be traced to Bureau and under no circumstance is Bureau to be acknowledged as source of enclosure. Maintain list of addressees for possible follow-up counterintelligence material.

Advise Bureau of positive results obtained.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 10/16/70

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, BOSTON

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE (WSA)
IS - SDS
(CO: BOSTON)
BUFILE 100-439043
ATLANTA 100-8017
CHICAGO 100-56005
DETROIT 100-30057
MIAMI 100-15122
NEW ORLEANS 100-17205
NEW YORK 100-143047
SAN FRANCISCO 100-52152
BOSTON 100-35472

P 100-163303-170

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT
BUFILE 100-449698
ATLANTA 100-
CHICAGO 100-
DETROIT 100-
MIAMI 100-
NEW ORLEANS 100-
NEW YORK 100-
SAN FRANCISCO 100-
BOSTON 100-33530

4 - Bureau (RM)
4 - Atlanta (RM)
4 - Boston
JEM:jlc
(32)

Copies Continued on Page 2

Dec 9th Ltr 10/26/70

100-163303-

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
OCT 19 1970

317

b6
b7C

1

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1969 O - 346-050 (11)

2
BS 100-35472
BS 100-38530

4 - New Orleans
4 - Chicago (RM)
4 - Detroit (RM)
4 - Miami (RM)
4 - New York (RM)
4 - San Francisco (RM)

Re New Orleans letter and LHM dated 9/25/70, captioned "STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE, IS - SDS;" no copies designated for the Atlanta, Miami, and New York Offices. Bureau letter to Detroit dated 10/13/70, captioned "STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE, IS - SDS;" copies designated for the below recipient offices with the exception of the Chicago and New York Offices.

For the information of the Chicago and New York Offices, referenced Bureau letter made reference to New Orleans LHM which contained a copy of a three-page statement written by [redacted] of the Berkeley, California, SDS. This article was highly critical of the SDS/WSA National Interim Conference report by [redacted]. Referenced Bureau letter pointed out that it is apparent from the [redacted] statement as well as from information furnished by [redacted] concerning the National Interim Committee (NIC) that there is a great deal of disagreement among SDS/WSA leaders. The Bureau instructed the Boston Office to consider exploitation of this dissension through the use of a counterintelligence measure (Cointelpro) and submit its observations concerning this matter. The following is submitted per these instructions:

b6
b7C
b7D

b7D

Information provided by [redacted] and other sources within SDS/WSA indicate that the most significant situation occurring within SDS/WSA at the present time appears to be the rising opposition developing among San Francisco, Chicago, and New Orleans SDS chapters against the National Headquarters (NH) in Boston. The basic issue involved is the role of the NIC in the organization. The above 3 chapters and possibly others have argued that the rank-and-file members within SDS have not been allowed to determine policy for the organization via National Council and national conferences. Activists within these chapters argue that the NIC of SDS is playing the major leadership role in the organization by setting policy for SDS. These 3 chapters view the above as an extremely undesirable trend within SDS and feel that it is thwarting SDS from becoming a mass-based anti-war revolutionary organization. Activists within these 3 chapters argue that SDS has been successful in the past and can be successful in the future only if the organization allows its rank-and-file members to formulate the national meetings.

b6
b7C

In addition, members of the anti-NH faction within SDS, in particular, [redacted] and [redacted] from [redacted] are advocates of far more militant tactics than are members of the NH faction.

Also, there are those within SDS who accept the Progressive Labor Party influence and others who resent it.

It is obvious that based on the above information, there is growing resentment among various SDS/WSA chapters who have taken an anti-NH stand. Unfortunately for their cause, the NH seems to disregard their complaints.

A case in point is the situation in Florida where the SDS was overlooked when the Southern Regional Conference (held 10/9-11/70 in Atlanta, Georgia) was planned. A Miami source felt that Florida SDS was overlooked since it has been vocal in its feelings that there are too many Regional and NIC meetings which drain its local treasury and delegate expenses.

It seems that the above anti-NH forces are having difficulty uniting in order that they might achieve strength and influence within SDS/NSA. One probable explanation is that they have been unable to physically assemble as a united force and challenge the NH on its "lack of inner debate and struggle around ideas and practice" and "isolation from the ideas and interests of the majority of students," as [redacted] alleges in his statement referenced to above. b6 b7C

It would appear that the SDS/NSA planned national demonstrations in San Jose, California, and Detroit, Michigan, on 11/3/70 would afford the anti-NH groups an opportunity to achieve universal assembly and simultaneously challenge the NH forces from a position of strength rather than having to express their resentment and complaints from various sectors of the United States, thereby eliminating the possibility of much-needed broad support.

In order to alert the anti-NH forces to the above opportunity, the Boston Office suggests that the Bureau authorize recipient offices to encourage sources who are affiliated with factional groups within SDS/NSA to discreetly suggest without creating undue suspicion that representatives of the SDS/NSA group in question be sent to the sites of the planned 11/3/70 national demonstration, principally to confront NH representatives on

their "undemocratic"and neglectful attitude toward rank-and-file members.

Indications are that the NH is planning conferences in the San Francisco, San Jose, and Detroit areas on 11/1/70 and 11/2/70 to prepare for the national demonstration on 11/3/70. Such conferences could serve as occasions for attending disgruntled SDS/WSA representatives to air their critical views of the NH and hopefully develop a strong platform, thereby substantially promoting the already existing factionalism within SDS.

Request of the Bureau

The Bureau is requested to study the above observations set forth by the Boston Office and, if found acceptable, authorize recipient offices to encourage their sources, particularly those who plan to attend the national demonstrations, to agitate in their respective SDS/WSA groups with a view toward confronting the NH on the above issues during the national demonstrations for the purpose of promoting factionalism within SDS/WSA, and thereby weakening its current unsteady posture.

Request of Recipient Offices

Canvass informants concerning their availability to travel to San Jose, California, or Detroit, Michigan, in order to achieve maximum coverage of SDS/WSA national demonstrations in those cities on 11/3/70.

Recipients also await Bureau's decision concerning the above suggested Cointelpro effort submitted by the Boston Office. Should the Bureau authorize the

implementation of this suggestion, sources should be cautioned concerning engaging in any action that might jeopardize their confidential relationship with the Bureau and thus adversely affect their future value.

The Boston Office is presently canvassing informants in an effort to determine their availability concerning the national demonstration in Detroit on 11/3/70.

The Boston Office will await the results of the Bureau's review of the above suggestion.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439539) 10/23/70

SAC, NEW YORK (100-164524) (P) b6 b7C

[redacted]

SM - PLP
(OO:NY)

ReBulet 10/13/70, and NYlet 9/29/70.

The report prepared by the National Steering Committee of the PLP on inter-party struggle was widely circulated in PLP and CP circles during the summer of 1970. Copies were furnished to this office by both [redacted] and [redacted]. b7D

[redacted] has advised that some 70 copies of the report were made at CP headquarters and received wide distribution in CP circles. b7D

[redacted] has advised that knowledge of subject's promiscuous activity is now known to rank and file members of the PLP as well as to its leaders as the result of the above report. b7D

It is not believed that the anonymous mailing of copies of the Steering Committee report re subject would in any way jeopardize the security of [redacted] or any other source. b7D

Bureau authority is requested for NY to proceed with the counterintelligence action outlined in referenced NY letter.

By Authority of Let dtd 11/13/70 Via Let dtd 11/24/70 Re: 100-164524-68 RMT 11/26/70 SAC

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - NY 100-163303 (COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT) (42)
1 - NY

BPM:bpm
(4)

[redacted] b6 b7C

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) 10/6/70

SAC, CLEVELAND (100-28895) (P*)

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT
INTERNAL SECURITY

The Cleveland Office has noted that back in April of 1970, [redacted] had indicated that the SDS had set up an emergency code in which they would use one of the 3 names set forth below to signal that they needed help, which would act like an SOS signal to SDS people. The names to be utilized for this purpose were: b7D

SAM DEWEY,
MARION DELGADO, and
ELISA DELGADO

Along this line, it was noted that the parents of [redacted] indicated in April of 1970 that their daughter had contacted them in December of 1969 asking that the parents send $750.00 for her bail in a Cleveland case to [redacted] Main Post Office, Box [redacted], Cleveland, Ohio. The parents sent this $750.00 to this address. b6 b7C

Cleveland ascertained through the Post Office Department that Post Office Box [redacted], Main Post Office, Cleveland, Ohio was taken out in the name of [redacted], Ohio. b6 b7C

This address was the residence at that time of [redacted], Ohio, former CP members and parents of [redacted]. b6 b7C

Cleveland thought that possibly the SDS Weathermen and particularly the SDS Weatherman Fugitives might still be utilizing this emergency code and if so the Bureau might consider having the Chicago Office, which covered the center of SDS activity up to the time SDS went underground, place an ad in the "Guardian" using one of the emergency code names. Chicago

100-163303-321

(2) - Bureau
2 - Cleveland
EAS/mkn
(4)

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
OCT 16 1970
FBI — NEW YORK

could rent a post office box in one of the code names as an address and then send in an ad to the "Guardian" similar to the one below:

"WF- Miss you. Please Write. SAM DEWEY, P.O. Box ____, ____ Post Office Chicago, Illinois."

or

"WF- Trying to do my thing but have no script. MARION DELGADO, P.O. Box ____, ____ Post Office, Chicago, Illinois."

The above are merely examples and the Bureau's counter-intelligence section may want to use something they feel is more current or appropriate.

It is felt that perhaps some of the SDS Weatherman fugitives might see such an ad, as the "Guardian" has been one of the papers they read, particularly since "New Left Notes" is no longer published. If so they might correspond with the code name used which might possibly give the Bureau a lead or address where these fugitives might be, or could be reached.

SAC, Chicago

10/15/70

Director, FBI (100-449698-11)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
NEW LEFT
INTERNAL SECURITY

ReCVlet to the Bureau 10/6/70 captioned as above.

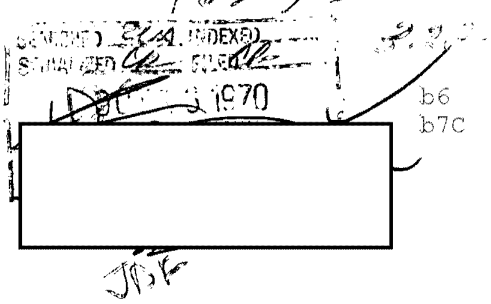
Enclosed for Chicago, New York and San Francisco is one Xerox copy of referenced letter. Receiving offices should analyze the proposal outlined by Cleveland and submit to the Bureau comments and appraisals concerning this proposal along with any suggestions or examples along these lines which might be more current or appropriate. San Francisco should submit their comments concerning the feasibility of using such an ad in the "Berkeley Tribe." Do not initiate any further action on the proposal until advised to do so by the Bureau.

Enclosure

3 - New York (Enclosure)
2 - San Francisco (Enclosure)
1 - Cleveland (100-28865)

see 9th ltr 10/26/70

100-163303



b6
b7C

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 07-25-2012

10/26/70

Code

Urgent

TELETYPE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048) & SACS,
BOSTON (100-35472) &
DETROIT (100-30957)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-148047)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS); USA; IS-SDS,
OO:BS.

REBSAT, OCTOBER SIXTEEN, LAST.

UACB, [redacted] WILL TRAVEL b7D
TO DETROIT, MICHIGAN, NOVEMBER ONE, NEXT, WITH SDS-USA
CONTINGENT FROM COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. IT IS EXPECTED INFORMANT
WILL TAKE PART IN SDS PLANNING SESSIONS NOVEMBER ONE TO TWO,
NEXT, AND SDS ELECTION DAY DEMONSTRATION ON NOVEMBER THREE,
NEXT. EXPENSES FOR TRAVEL WILL BE DRAWN FROM INFORMANT'S
AUTHORIZED ALLOWANCE WITH NO ADDITIONAL FUNDS BEING REQUESTED
FROM BUREAU. FOR INFO DETROIT, INFORMANT [redacted] b7D
AND WILL CONTACT DETROIT OFFICE VIA TELEPHONE FOLLOWING
ARRIVAL IN THAT CITY. DETROIT TO ADVISE OF ANY SPECIAL
TELEPHONE NUMBER AND OR IDENTITY OF AGENT TO BE CONTACTED BY
SOURCE. NO SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS BEING GIVEN INFORMANT ALSO
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE LINES SUGGESTED IN REBSAT UNTIL BUREAU
AUTHORITY RECEIVED. (U) 5518X

1-[redacted] (ADM) (42) b7D
1-100-163303 (COINTELPRO) (42)
1-Supervisor #42 BPM:ihr (4)

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
FBI — NEW YORK

4/4/78

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 146
Page 3 ~ Duplicate File# 100-NY-163303 Sect. 1
Page 9 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. UR (RR)
Page 10 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-52 Sect. 1, Ser. 8 (RR)
Page 11 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 1, Ser. 8 (RR)
Page 15 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-7 Sect. 1, Ser. 13 (RR)
Page 16 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-7 Sect. 1, Ser. 13 (RR)
Page 17 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-45 Ser. 46 (RR)
Page 18 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-45 Ser. 46 (RR)
Page 19 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-11, Ser. 23 (RR)
Page 20 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-11 Serial 23 (RR)
Page 21 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 -11, Ser. 23 (RR)
Page 22 ~ Duplicate 100-HQ-449698-11 Serial 23 (RR)
Page 23 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 61 (RR)
Page 24 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 63 (RR)
Page 25 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 63 (RR)
Page 26 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 63 (RR)
Page 32 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-499698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 65 (RR)
Page 33 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-499698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 65 (RR)
Page 36 ~ Duplicate FOIA#1134415-000 File 100-SE-29237 Ser 17
Page 37 ~ Duplicate FOIA#1134415-000 File 100-SE-29237 Ser 17
Page 38 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 64 (RR)
Page 42 ~ Duplicate File# File# 100-HQ-449698-53 Serial 32
Page 46 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 65 (RR)
Page 47 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 65 (RR)
Page 50 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-499698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. UR (RR)
Page 51 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 66 (RR)
Page 52 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 65 (RR)
Page 58 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 66 (RR)
Page 63 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, Ser. 864 (RR)
Page 64 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, Ser. 864 (RR)
Page 65 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Section 1, Ser. 866
Page 67 ~ b6, b7C, b7D
Page 68 ~ b6, b7C, b7D
Page 76 ~ Duplicate FOIA# 1160095-000 100-LA-71737 Sect. 1, Ser. 140
Page 77 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-21 Sect. 1, Ser. 221 (RR)
Page 78 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-37 Sect. 1, Ser. 15 (RR)
Page 79 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-37 Sect. 1, Ser. 15 (RR)
Page 80 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 69 (RR)
Page 81 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, Ser. 868 (RR)
Page 82 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, Ser. 868 (RR)
Page 83 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, Ser. 870 (RR)
Page 84 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, Ser. 870 (RR)
Page 85 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, Ser. 875 (RR)
Page 86 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, Ser. 875 (RR)

Page 87 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, Ser. 875 (RR)
Page 88 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-8, Ser. 8 (RR)
Page 89 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 70, pg 1 (RR)
Page 91 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 70, pg 3 (RR)
Page 92 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 68 (RR)
Page 93 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 68 (RR)
Page 94 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 68 (RR)
Page 95 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-8, Ser. 9, pg 17 (RR)
Page 96 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, pgs 11-21 and 23 (RR)
Page 97 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, pgs 11-21 and 23 (RR)
Page 98 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, pgs 11-21 and 23 (RR)
Page 99 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, pgs 11-21 and 23 (RR)
Page 100 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, pgs 11-21 and 23 (RR)
Page 101 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, pgs 11-21 and 23 (RR)
Page 102 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, pgs 11-21 and 23 (RR)
Page 103 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, pgs 11-21 and 23 (RR)
Page 104 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, pgs 11-21 and 23 (RR)
Page 105 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, pgs 11-21 and 23 (RR)
Page 106 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, pgs 11-21 and 23 (RR)
Page 107 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, pgs 11-21 and 23 (RR)
Page 108 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, pg 9 (RR)
Page 110 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, pg 9 (RR)
Page 112 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, Ser. UR, pg 10 (RR)
Page 113 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, Ser. 872, pg 33 (RR)
Page 114 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 1, Ser. 872, pg 34 (RR)
Page 115 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 71 (RR)
Page 118 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. UR (RR)
Page 120 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. UR (RR)
Page 128 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 72, pg 2 (RR)
Page 129 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-2 Sect. 1, Ser. 12 (RR)
Page 130 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-2 Sect. 1, Ser. 12 (RR)
Page 131 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-2 Sect. 1, Ser. 12 (RR)
Page 132 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-2 Sect. 1, Ser. 12 (RR)
Page 133 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 73 (RR)
Page 134 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 74 (RR)
Page 136 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 75 (RR)
Page 137 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 75 (RR)
Page 139 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 74 (RR)
Page 140 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 74 (RR)
Page 141 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 75 (RR)
Page 153 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2 (RR)
Page 154 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 76 (RR)
Page 155 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 76 (RR)
Page 156 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 76 (RR)
Page 158 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 2, Ser. 891 (RR)
Page 159 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 2, Ser. 891 (RR)
Page 163 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 78 (RR)
Page 164 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 78 (RR)
Page 165 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 77 (RR)
Page 166 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 78 (RR)
Page 167 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 79 (RR)

Page 168 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 79 (RR)
Page 169 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 2, Ser. 914 (RR)
Page 170 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 2, Ser. 914 (RR)
Page 172 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 2, Ser. 914 (RR)
Page 173 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-499698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 79 (RR)
Page 182 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. UR (RR)
Page 183 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. UR (RR) - Ser
Page 203 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 80
Page 204 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 80, pg 2 (RR)
Page 207 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 3, Ser. 921 (RR)
Page 208 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 3, Ser. 921 (RR)
Page 209 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 3, Ser. 921 (RR)
Page 210 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 81
Page 211 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 81
Page 215 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 81 (RR)
Page 218 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 82 (RR)
Page 220 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-5 Sect. 1, Ser. UR (RR)
Page 221 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-5 Sect. 1, Ser. UR (RR)
Page 222 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-5 Sect. 1, Ser. UR (RR)
Page 223 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-5 Sect. 1, Ser. UR (RR)
Page 224 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-5 Sect. 1, Ser. UR (RR)
Page 226 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-5 Sect. 1, Ser. UR (RR)
Page 227 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. UR (RR)
Page 228 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-5 Sect. 1, Pg 26 (RR)
Page 229 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-32 Sect. 1, Ser. 13 (RR)
Page 230 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-32 Sect. 1, Ser. 13 (RR)
Page 231 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 84 (RR)
Page 232 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 85 (RR)
Page 233 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 85 (RR)
Page 234 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 85 (RR)
Page 235 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 85 (RR)
Page 236 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 85 (RR)
Page 237 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 86 (RR)
Page 238 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 86 (RR)
Page 239 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 86 (RR)
Page 240 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 1, Ser. 86 (RR)
Page 249 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 1, Ser. 87 (RR)
Page 250 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-10 Sect. 1, Ser. 21 (RR)
Page 259 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-47 Sect. 3, Ser. 68 (RR)
Page 260 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 88 (RR)
Page 266 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 89 (RR)
Page 267 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 90
Page 268 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 90 (RR)
Page 269 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698-34 Sect. 2, Ser. 90 (RR)
Page 270 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 3, pg 50 and 51 (RR)
Page 271 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 3, pg 50 and 51 (RR)
Page 272 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 3, Pgs 39-40 (RR)
Page 273 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 3, Pgs 39-40 (RR)
Page 274 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 3, pgs 41-42 (RR)
Page 275 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 3, pgs 41-42 (RR)
Page 276 ~ Duplicate File# 100-HQ-449698 Sect. 3, pg 29 (RR)